

VOL. XIV.

PART III.

Vol. 14

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

**BIHAR AND ORISSA
RESEARCH SOCIETY. PATNA**

Vol 14, Pt 3
1928

September



Vol. 14, Pt 3
1928.

PATNA

Published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa.

Rs. 5.

51

VOL. XIV.

PART III.

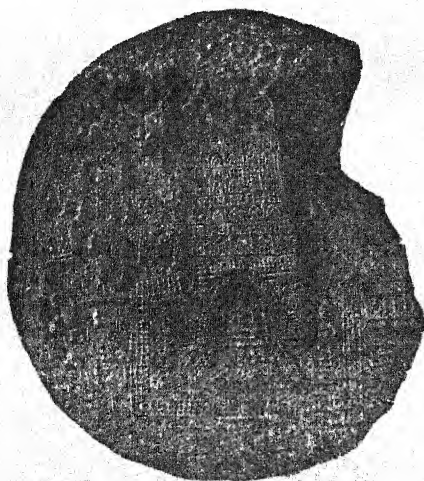
THE JOURNAL
OF THE
BIHAR AND ORISSA
RESEARCH SOCIETY, *Patna*

57-38

Vol 14, Pt. 3
1928

September

1928.



PATNA

Published by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society.

Printed by the Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa.

CENTRAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL
LIBRARY NEW DELHI.

Acc. No. 57531.....

Date 29.7.1975.....

Call No. 891.05 / J.B.R.S.

**List of Officers and Members of Council
of the
BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY
for the year 1928.**

Patron.

His Excellency the Governor of Bihar and Orissa.

Vice-Patrons.

Sir Edward Albert Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Ph.D., I.C.S. (Retd.).

The Hon'ble Maharajadhiraja Sir Rameshwara Singh, G.C.I.E., K.B.E.,
of Darbhanga.

Maharaja Bahadur Sir Bir Mitrodaya Singh Deo, K.C.I.E., of Sonapur.

The Hon'ble Sir Thomas Frederick Dawson Miller, Kt., K.C.

Maharaja Bahadur Guru Mahadeva Asram Prasad Shahi.

President.

His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

Vice-President.

The Hon'ble Mr. Courtney Terrell.

General Secretary.

E. A. Horne, Esq., M.A., I.E.S.

Joint Secretary.

Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Treasurer.

D. N. Sen, Esq., M.A., I.E.S.

Librarian.

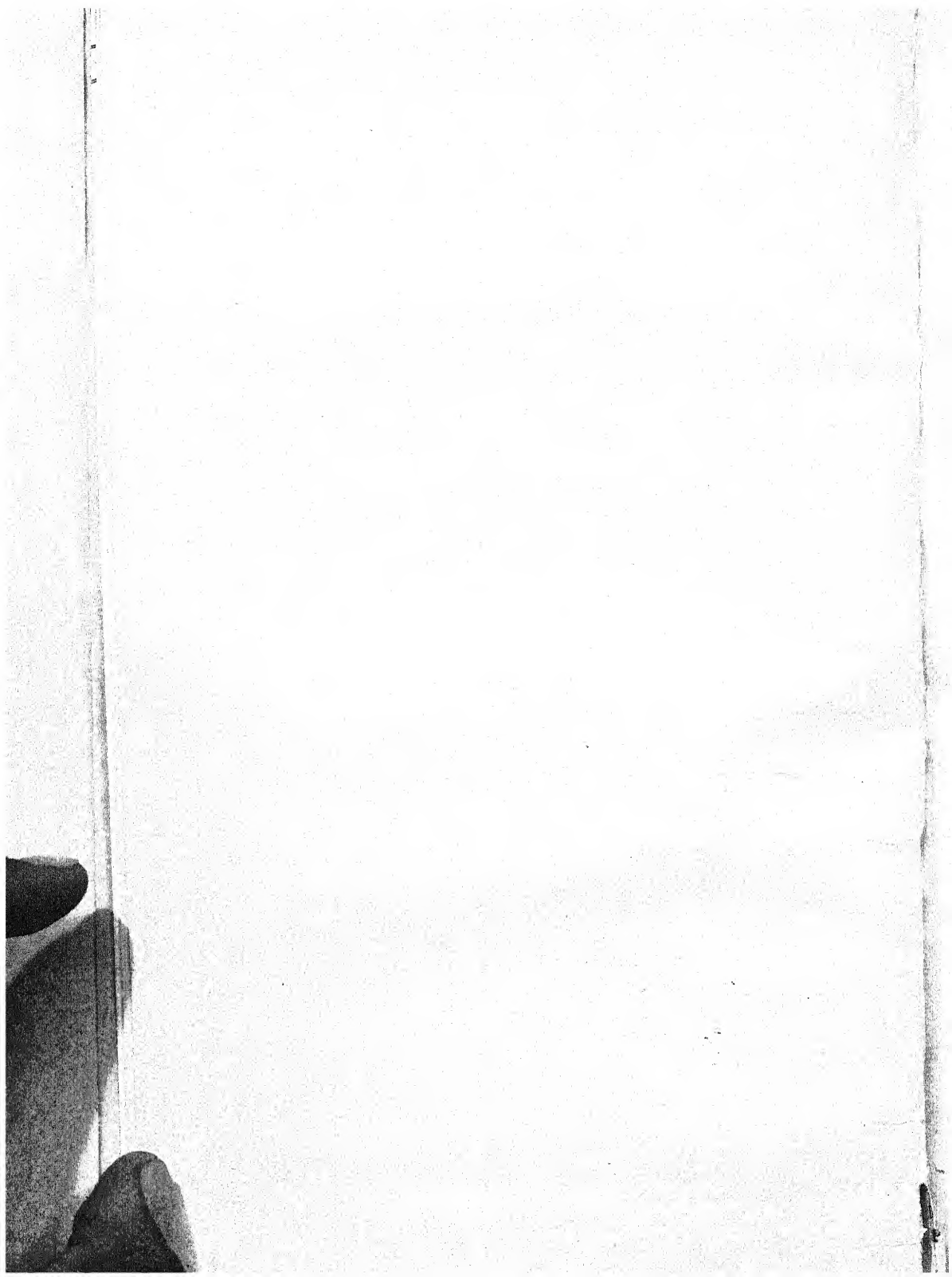
Rai Sahib Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

Editorial Board.

R. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Editor.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D., Associate Editor.

Professor R. D. Banerji, M.A., Nandi Professor of Indian History,



*Other Members of Council besides the President, the General Secretary,
the Treasurer and the Librarian.*

The Hon'ble Mr. Courtney Terrell.

Mr. G. E. Fawcus, M.A., O.B.E., C.I.E.

K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-law.

P. C. Manuk, Esq., Barrister-at-law.

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhury.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D.

Mr. J. S. Armour, M.A.

Mr. H. Lambert, M.A.

Professor Ramavatar Sarma, M.A.

The Right Rev. Dr. L. Van Hoeck, S.J.

Professor R. D. Banerji, M.A.

Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

JOURNAL
OF THE
BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY.

September 1928.

C O N T E N T S .

Leading Articles.

- I. The Maha-Puranas 323—340
By Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Haraprasad Shastri, C.I.E.
- II. The date of the Bauddha Gan O Doha ... 341—357
*By Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, M.A., Ph.D.,
Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda.*
- III. A dramatic production of the eighth century : The deve-
lopment of Modern Swang 358—365
By N. C. Mehta, I.C.S.
- IV. Account of Mubarak Shah, the second Sayyad ruler of
Delhi 366—386
*By Kamal Krishna Basu, T. N. J. College, Bhagal-
pur.*
- V. Cup-Marked Stones near Rajgir (with Plates) ... 387—396
By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph.D. (Oxon.)
- VI. Historical data in the Garga-Samhita and the Brahmin
Empire 397—421
By K. P. Jayaswal.
- VII. The Dog-bride in Santali and Lepcha Folklore ... 422—425
By Prof. Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.
- VIII. The Caterpillar-Boy and the Caterpillar-Husband in
Santali and Lhota Naga Folklore 426—428
By Prof. Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

- IX. The Frog in North-Indian Rain-Compelling Rites ... 429—431
By Prof. Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.
- X. Notes on Dog-Worship in the Hazaribagh District in
 Chota Nagpur ... 432—434
By Prof. Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.
- XI. Note on a Recent Instance of a Human Sacrifice for
 discovering hidden treasures ... 435—437
By Prof. Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.
- XII. A Brief Report of Anthropological work for the year
 1927-28 ... 438—494
By Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

Reviews and Notes of Books.

- I. Development of Hindu Polity and Political Theories ... 450—454
By Narayan Chandra Bandyopadhyaya, M.A.—
Part I, by Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph. D.
(Oxon.)
- II. The Empire of the Great Megal. Published by Messrs.
 Taraporevala Sons and Company, Bombay .. 455—457
By Prof. R. D. Banerji, M.A.

Notes of the Quarter.

- I. Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and
 Orissa Research Society, held at the Society's office on
 the 5th August 1928 ... 458—460
- II. Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and
 Orissa Research Society, held at the Society's office
 on the 30th September 1928 ... 461—462
- Transliteration of Devanagari into Roman Alphabets ... 463

JOURNAL

OF THE

BIHAR AND ORISSA RESEARCH SOCIETY

VOL. XIV]

1928

[PART III.

LEADING ARTICLES

I.—The Maha-Puranas

By Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Haraprasad Shastri, C.I.E.

The Bihar and Orissa Research Society was started by its first governor, Sir Edward Gait, and he asked me to assist him in its organisation ; and I used to come all the way from Calcutta for the purpose, twice or thrice in the year. I assisted him in starting the operation of search of Sanskrit manuscripts in Orissa and Mithila. Since Sir Edward's retirement I thought that the Research Society had forgotten me ; but the other day I was agreeably surprised to find that the Society published a magnificent volume on the Smṛti manuscripts in Mithila, and that the volume was dedicated to me by the distinguished author. I was very happy to think that I was not altogether forgotten. Shortly after that came an invitation from the Secretary to address the annual general meeting, and with a delicate courtesy, the choice of subject was left to me ; and I chose the subject of Mahā-purāṇas to which my attention has been directed for some years.

The Purāṇa literature is very extensive. The 18 Mahā-purāṇas are said to contain 400,000 verses. Over and above these, there are 18 Upa-purāṇas, and 18 more Purāṇas unsuccessfully claiming position among the 36 Mahā and Upa-purāṇas. Besides these 54, there is a miscellaneous lot of Purāṇas bringing up the number nearly to a hundred. It, on an average 20,000 verses are given to each of these 100 works, the number of ślokas or verses would be 2,000,000. On an average 4,000 verses per volume, they would fill 500 volumes, a respectable library in itself. To speak of this enormous literature, with any authority, requires at least a life's study; but nobody has as yet given his life to it.

Yet, there are many stout hearts who have made bold endeavours to master this literature. Their success was partial, and will be so for many generations more. Horace Hayman Wilson was the first oriental scholar to take up the study of the Purāṇas. He trained four Bengali youths to the work of reading manuscripts of the Purāṇas and of rendering them to English. These four men afterwards became great men in different spheres of life, and the training received from Wilson stood them in good stead. With their assistance, Wilson translated many of the Purāṇas, made indices on them and bound them in foolscap volumes. These now adorn the shelves of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, and speak eloquently of the interest, Wilson took for the Puranic literature of the Hindus. Among these he published the translation of one Purāṇa only, viz. the Viṣṇu-purāṇa with copious notes and a learned preface dealing with the 18 Mahā-purāṇas. But, his materials were meagre, and that, in badly written manuscripts. For a learned Brahmin, unless he was a Paurāṇika himself, never copied the manuscripts with his own hands, but had it done by Kāyasthas whose knowledge of Sanskrit was not of the first water.

The first Purāṇa, edited under the auspices of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, was the Mārkaṇḍeya-Purāṇa by the Rev. K. M. Banerjea, and he had to contend with difficulties in regard to manuscripts.

When the late Mr. Pargiter joined the Civil Service in the early eighties, he determined to do something for the Purāṇas and the only respectable edition of one, he found was the Mārkaṇḍeya by Rev. K. M. Banerjea; and in order to emulate the fame of Wilson he began to translate it and finished the translation only a few years before his retirement. He, however, kept up the study of the Purāṇas all through his life in India and all through his life at Oxford. At Oxford it struck him that instead of editing and translating the Purāṇas, it would be more useful to translate, and specially, to edit passages or chapters from the Purāṇas on a particular subject, and he chose the Purāṇa texts on the dynasties of the Kali Age. The same subject was simultaneously studied by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal while at Calcutta. These studies had marvellous effect. In the eighties my European friends advised me not to touch the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas for the purpose of getting Indian history from them. They worked hard with coins, inscriptions, notices of foreign travellers, archæology, sculpture, architecture for extracting chronology and history from them. In fact they studied everything but the Purāṇas. But lo! Mr. Pargiter and Mr. Jayaswal now produce a chronology from the Purāṇas themselves which agreed in the outline prepared with so much toils of nearly 150 years by the Orientalists.

The last work of Mr. Pargiter is on the reliability of Indian traditions, i.e., on the Purāṇas generally. He says that there is nothing in the Purāṇas to show that the Kṣatriyas came from the west. His idea is that they all came from the mid-Himālayas. But this is not the place for going into detail of what Mr. Pargiter and Mr. Jayaswal say. All that the present

Pargiter on Indian traditions.

address is concerned with is that they rescued the Purāṇas from the disrepute in which they were placed and heightened the respect for them.

As a consequence, the study of the Purāṇas has commenced in Europe, and the idea of editing

Willibald Kirfel. passages on particular subjects has taken root. In 1927, Willibald Kirfel has

come out with a stout volume, "Das Purāṇa Pañcalakṣaṇa." He has collected together from various Purāṇas all the passages on the five characteristics of the Purāṇa, viz., creation, details of creation, ages of Manu, dynasties, and biographies of kings. This is a great service, for in it we can at a glance see what the original idea of creation, et cetera, were and how they developed in different ages. It has also served another great purpose. People were all along under the impression that the Purāṇas were concerned with these five subjects with others intruding upon and interpolated into these five subjects. Kirfel shows what an insignificant part these five play in the Purāṇas. They form about 10,000 verses, out of total of 400,000, thus being the one-fortieth part of it. So there are other characteristics of the Purāṇas, which form the bulk of them.

It would be a serious omission, in this connexion, not to

Rai Sahib Nagen-
dranath Vasu.

mention the name of Rai Sahib Nagen-
dra-nātha Vasu who has taken great
interest in the Purāṇas. His article on

the Purāṇa in his well-known Bengali Encyclopedia Viśva-koṣa occupies pages 526-719 in vol. XI. He has treated of each Purāṇa, each Upa-purāṇa and each other Purāṇa as far as was possible for him 30 years ago. The contents of each Purāṇa have been noted and he has some remarks to make for each of them. On page 560, he has given the names of 18 Mahā-Purāṇas in a tabular form, the order in which these names have been mentioned in each of the Purāṇas, and their extent in ślokas, wherever found. This tabular statement could be useful to anyone studying the Purāṇas. The description of individual

Purāṇas is preceded by a dissertation on Parāṇa literature in general. The Rai Sahib thinks that the principal Purāṇas were compiled a short time after the Vedic age; but the literature continued to grow up to a very late time. The Purāṇas have undergone various changes in the hands of various sects. The Rai Sahib has included an examination of the Jaina Purāṇas which are only imitations of the Hindu Purāṇas. Some of the Jaina imitations are dated, from which he has attempted to prove the antiquity of the Hindu originals.

Up to very recent times, the Purāṇa scholars had to contend with one great difficulty. They had to

**Publication of the
Puranas.**

study their subjects mostly through manuscripts; and manuscripts are difficult to procure even for collation. But the way shown by the Rev. K. M. Banerjea and by the piety of the Hindu public who used to print the Purāṇas and distribute them to pious Brahmins, led to excellent results. Mandalik from Bombay published the Padma-purāṇa in four volumes, The Ānandāśrama published the Matsya, Brahma and other Purāṇas. The popularity of these works led the Veṅkaṭeśwar Press, Bombay and the Vaṅgavāsī Press, Calcutta, to publish the entire bulk of the 18 Mahā-purāṇas. People often complain that these editions are worthless. They are more full of errors than even the worst manuscripts. But I think they are useful. In the eighties of the last century, my late lamented friend Dr. Hoernle used to say of these editions that they serve a good purpose by multiplying bad manuscripts. The very multiplication is useful. One can with a few rupees procure any Puranic work and work upon it, instead of waiting till a manuscript is searched for and procured, say, in the course of a year or two. The public, indeed, should be thankful to these two printers for circulating printed editions of all the Purāṇas, the Vaṅgavāsī for Rs. 67 and the Veṅkaṭeśwar for Rs. 200 only. They serve another purpose. They represent the different provincial recensions and that means collations of different classes of manuscripts. They have made researches

on the Purāṇas practicable. By a cursory view of the two sets, one can at once come to know that the Mubammadan custom offering "Sirpi" to Satyapir adopted by the Hindus of Bengal as the worship of Satya-Nārāyaṇa, is to be found in the Revā-khaṇḍa of the Vaṅgavāsī edition, but not in the Venkateśwar edition, that some khaṇḍas of the Purāṇas are popular in one province and unknown in another and so forth.

With these preliminaries, I now enter into the proper subject
The 18 Maha- of my address. The late lamented
puranas.

Mr. Jackson, I.C.S., Bombay, used to say that the Purāṇas were originally one. His arguments were that the word Purāṇa is used in singular in some of the Kalpa-sūtras, that the dynastic lists in the Purāṇas are couched in the same language in every one of them (that shows that they were taken from the same source), that like the Saxon chronicles which changed its character in different monasteries, the Purāṇa changed its character in different places, different families and in the midst of different sects of different religions. Many of the Purāṇas also declare that "Purāṇam ekam eva āsit." The Viṣṇu-purāṇa says that the Purāṇa was one. It was taught by Vyāsa to Loma-harṣaṇa who imparted it to six of his students, three of whom wrote three Samhitās. So here we get an account of four Purāṇas. The Vāyu-purāṇa is lost to all intents and purposes. But the first portion of the second Khaṇḍa of the genuine Vāyu is to be found in the library of the Asiatic Society, Bengal. From that it is apparent that the Purāṇas at one time were ten, but at the time of writing that book it had grown to 18. In the Garuḍa-purāṇa we hear that Garuḍa obtained a boon that he should be known as a "Purāṇa-samhitā-kartā," and so the Garuḍa-purāṇa is independent of other Purāṇas. Vasiṣṭha's grandson Parāśara obtained a boon from Pulastya,—the progenitor of the Rākṣasas whom Parāśara determined to extirpate but subsequently desisted owing to Pulastya's intercession,—that he should be celebrated as a "Purāṇa-samhitā-kartā." These show the futility of the theory that all the 18 Purāṇas proceeded from Vyāsa who, after

writing the Mahā-bhārata, compiled the 18 Purāṇas to complete the Encyclopædia of Hindu life. That theory should be given up ; but the presence of Vyāsa, or his disciple Sūta, in at least 16 Purāṇas, should be accounted for.

This is accounted for by the fact that many of the Purāṇas have undergone several revisions. From

Revisions.

the Padma-purāṇa itself, as published by the Anandāśrama Press, we know that it was at least six times revised. The Brahma, the Bhāgavata and the Brahma-vaivarta were at least thrice revised. The number of revisions of the other Purāṇas cannot be determined. But the Viṣṇu and the Vāmaṇa were never revised. The Ṛṣis and Sūta have nothing to do in these two Purāṇas ; and it is a curious thing that in the other 16 Purāṇas, Sūta and the Ṛṣis come as the last revisors. So I think that there was a time when a theory gained ground that all the Purāṇas proceeded from Vyāsa, and with that view they revised the 16 Purāṇas. These latest revisors could not put Sūta and the Ṛṣis in the Viṣṇu-purāṇa, because the interlocutors there were Parāśara, the father of Vyāsa and Maitreya, his class-friend. The little historical sense they had, prevented them from committing such an outrage. In the case of the Vāmaṇa, too, Pulastya and Nārada were the interlocutors. They both were the original progenitors of the human race.

The celebrated lexicon Amara-koṣa says that the Purāṇas **The five charac-** have five characteristics. Many of the **teristics.** Purāṇas say the same thing. But Kirfel has shown that these constitute only the one-fortieth part of the whole bulk. The other 39 parts, therefore, should not be, according to Amara, considered as Purāṇa proper. Therefore, this theory also should be summarily rejected. The only characteristic of a Purāṇa is that it should be old. Anything old may be the subject of a Purāṇa, and it covers all the aspects of life.

The Bhāgavata attributes ten characteristics to the Purāṇas. **The ten character-** But even those ten characteristics do not **istics.** cover all, the 400,000 ślokas. The Matsya gives a rational theory about the Purāṇas. It says

that the Purāṇas not only have those five characteristics but they also dilate on the sanctity of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra and Arka ; and on the dissolution and the preservation of the world. They also concern themselves with righteous conduct, economics, erotics and their opposites. (Ch. 43, vss. 65-67.) This, I believe, is the most comprehensive statement of the contents of the Purāṇas given in a Purāṇa itself. Even these, I am afraid, do not cover the whole field. My meaning will be apparent as I go on.

I should like to divide the 18 Purāṇas in six groups of the according to their character :—
Puranas.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---|
| (1) Encyclopædia of literature | ... Garuḍa, Agni and Nārada. |
| (2) Tirtha and Vrata | ... Skanda, Padma and Bhaviṣya. |
| (3) With two revisions | ... Brahma Bhāgavata and apparent. Brahma-vaivarta. |
| (4) Historical | ... Brahmāṇḍa, Lost Vāyu and Viṣṇu. |
| (5) Sectarian | ... Liṅga, Vāmana and Markaṇḍeya. |
| (6) Old Purāṇa revised | ... Varāha Kurma and Matsya. |
| | out of existence |

Group I.

The first group of the three Purāṇas is most remarkable as containing the sāra or abstract of all the great works in Science and Art in Sanskrit literature. In making the abstracts, the writers throw away all things that are redundant and not required for giving the abstract. The abstract is put into unequivocal, clear and simplest possible language. For instance, there is a

Gaya-Mahatmya. Gaya-māhātmya as an appendix to Rājā R. L. Mitra's Vāyu-purāṇa in eight

chapters. The Agni makes an abstract of it, in three chapters but leaving nothing important behind. The Garuḍa makes an abstract in 23 verses of a long chapter of the Vāyu complete in 66 verses. The Agni-purāṇa gives the stories of the Fish, the Tortoise, the

Boar, the Man-lion, and the Dwarf incarnations in three chapters

The Ramayana.

in all. The Rāmāyana has been given in seven chapters, devoting a chapter to each

Kāṇḍa in the Agni and in the Garuḍa the whole thing has been compressed into one chapter only. The Garuḍa gives the

The Hari-vamśa.

whole of the Hari-vamśa in 11 and

The Mahabharata.

the Agni in 55 verses only. The Mahā-

bhārata has been abstracted by the Agni in three chapters, 70 verses in all, and by the Garuḍa in one chapter of 42 verses only. Buddha is an Avatāra in the Agni-parāṇa

which devotes half a chapter and 7 verses to him but Garuḍa does not mention him. This shows that the Garuḍa was

written at a time when he was not

The Gita.

recognised as an avatāra. The Bhagavad-

gītā in 18 chapters is separated from the Mahā-bhārata and given almost at the end of the Agni in a chapter of 58 verses, while in the Garuḍa it is given away from the Mahā-bhārata in a chapter of 30 verses.

Mr. Pargiter says that the Garuḍa is of use only for the names of the kings of the three earliest dynasties. According to him Garuḍa gives a string of names and nothing else. Agni does not say anything about the future kings.

Both the Garuḍa and the Agni give abstracts of works on

medicine, the Garuḍa in 57 chapters

Medicine.

and the Agni in 20 chapters. Garuḍa

makes a distinction between Pathology and Medicine but Agni does not think of it. Agni devotes more chapters on snake-bite and poison but strangely enough Garuḍa devotes on this two chapters only. Veterinary art received more attention in the Agni than in the Garuḍa. It would have been very very interesting if a gentleman with ripe scholarship in medicine could have examined these chapters and pronounced an opinion on them.

The tradition of Sanskrit grammar in both Agni and Garuḍa

**Grammar in the
Garuda.**

is from Kārtika to Kātyāyana. Pāṇini's

name is not mentioned. Pāṇini's school

seems to have gone out of currency from

the first century B.C. till it was reintroduced by Bhaṭṭhari in the

7th century A.D. Garuḍa gives an abstract of the Kātantra Sūtras, and Agni of the Cāndra Sūtrss. The Kātantra grammar was written for the benefit of a Sātavāhana king in the 1st century A.D. by Sarva-varmā who seems to have received his inspiration from the tail of a peacock on which Kārtika used to ride. Sarva-varmā's work is the briefest imaginable, it is briefer than the Upakramaṇikā of Vidyā-sāgara. It has no chapter on Kṛts or verbal derivations. That chapter was added by Kātyāyana, say, a century later. Garuḍa gives an abstract of Sarva-varmā's sūtras supplemented by Kātyāyana's. It may, therefore, come another century later, i.e., in the third century A.D. when Viṣṇu-worship was coming to the forefront and Garuḍa as the vehicle of Viṣṇu, began to attract worshippers. So much so, that in the early 4th century, the Guptas adopted Garuḍa as their "Lāñchana" or insignia. The grammar section of the Garuḍa-purāṇa may, therefore, be placed in the 3rd or at the latest, 4th century A.D.

The Agni-purāṇa gives an abstract of the Cāndra Vyākaraṇa-
 which we know from Tibetan sources,
Grammar in the which was composed in the 4th century A.D. at
Agni Candra-dvīpa in the district of Bariśāl.

Candra was most likely a Buddhist. In giving examples of Taddhita the writer, it seems, has made a confession of his being a follower of Candra. He says, "*Vetti adhīte Candrakam*", i.e., Cāndraka is one who knows and studies Candra grammar. The abstract of Candra in Agni may therefore be placed before the reappearance of Pāṇini in the 7th century A.D. The chapter on Vyākaraṇa in the Nārada adopts the Pāṇinian tradition but arranges the different topics of grammar in a practical manner. I am not sure, what book Nārada abstracts from, but it is sure that he comes after Bhaṭṭhāri, i.e., in the 8th century A.D. There is no Śikṣā or

Sikṣa phonetics in the Garuḍa but the Agni
 has a short chapter on the subject and it
 is of the most elementary kind. Perhaps it is an abstract of
 the Nāradiya Śikṣā. The Nārada-purāṇa divides Svāra into

three classes : Āreika, Gāthika and Sāmika. In connection with Sāmika come Tāna, Rāga, Svāra, Grāma and Mūrochanā, terms well known in the art of music. The chapter ends with Udātta, Anudātta and Svarita and their varieties.

Kāvya, Nāṭaka and Ālambkāra are not mentioned in the Garuḍa, nor in the Nārada. In Garuḍa's time, most likely, they were not regarded as subjects of special study ; and Nārada does not treat of them because they do not fall within the scope of his encyclopædia which is more religious than literal. But Agni devotes chapters and chapters on them. In Nāṭya-śāstra it gives the abstract of some work based on the dramaturgy of Bharata. On the face of it, it is not an abstract from Bharata. It speaks of Ritis as of four kinds :— " Pāñcālī, Gauḍa-deśiṃyā, Vaidarbhī, Lāṭajā tathā. " It speaks of Nṛṭya, of Abhinaya, of rhetorical figures, of defects of style and so forth. It shows a development of literary criticism which proceeded the invention of " Dhvani " by Ānanda-vardhana, or the Sūtra-kāra he commented upon. The Agni-purāṇa may, therefore, be put down in the pre-dhvani days, i.e., before the 9th century A.D. It embodies the ideas of Bhāmaha, Vāmana and others. But the particular work or works it abridged have not yet been found out.

Chandaḥ is another subject led under contribution by the Agni and the Nārada. Agni gives an abstract of Piṅgala's Chanda-sūtra with an unknown commentary but the opinions of this unknown commentary have been refuted by Halāyudha in the 10th century in Mālava. Nārada's chandaḥ includes abstracted form of the Prakrit Chandas, too.

These three encyclopædias pass for Mahā-purāṇas. They afford us a clue of the literature existing in the 4th, 6th, and 8th centuries of the Christian era.

The second group of the Mahā-purāṇas consist of Padma, Skanda and Bhaviṣya. They have been so often revised and so much revised that they may be said to have been revised out of recognition. The

**Kavya, Nataka
and Alamkara**

Chandas

Group II

Padma was originally divided into 5 Parvas, viz. 1. Puṣkara, 2. Tirtha, 3. Great Sacrifices, 4. Achievements of Kings and 5. Salvation. Here we can easily see why the Purāṇa is named after Padma or Lotus. It is because the Puṣkara or lotus Parva in which Brahmā is born from the Lotus, is the subject-matter of the first parva. The Padma-purāṇa in 5 Parvas is lost. But it had a Samuccaya or abstract, a manuscript of the first half of which is to be found in the library of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, from which we can have an idea of what the Padma-purāṇa of those days had been. A second scheme of division is given in the first chapter of the Uttara-khaṇḍa of the Padma-purāṇa. It divides the Purāṇa in 5 khaṇḍas, viz., 1. Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, 2. Bhūmi-khaṇḍa, 3. Pātāla-khaṇḍa, 4. Puṣkara-khaṇḍa and 5. Uttara-khaṇḍa. Even in this we can recognise the Padma-purāṇa in the Puṣkara-khaṇḍa. But in all other schemes it is revised out of recognition. The Ānādāsrama edition and the Vaṅgavāsī edition nowhere explained why it is called the Padma-purāṇa.

An old manuscript written in the Gupta characters of the

Skanda

Hori-uzi variety, without any indication that the Skanda has ever been divided into Samhitās or Khaṇḍas, is to be found in the Darbar Library, Nepal. From the meagre description I could bring, it appears to be a Purāṇa of old with Skanda as one of its interlocutors. The manuscripts of the Amvikā-khaṇḍa and of the Revā-khaṇḍa, acquired in east Bengal and remaining in the library of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, show that the Purāṇa was once divided into khaṇḍas the subject-matter being purely Paurāṇika. But at the present moment we find the Skanda Purāṇa in two different forms : (1) divided into 7 khaṇḍas, viz., Māheśvara, Vaiṣṇava, Brāhma, Kāśī, Āvantya, Nāgara and Prabhāsa, dealing mainly with liturgy and legends of holy places ; and (2) in six Samhitās, viz., Sanat-kumāra, Sūta, Saṃkara, Vaiṣṇava, Brāhmī and Saurī, and 50 subordinate khaṇḍas. In none of these we find Skanda much in evidence. So it is seen that this Purāṇa has gone out of recognition by revision.

All the Purāṇas drew their materials of the dynasties of the Kali Age from the Bhaviṣya-purāṇa. But in the present recensions of the Purāṇa (and there are four of them)

Bhaviṣya.

not a word about the dynasties of the Pāṇḍavas down to the Guptas is to be found. It can also be said to have gone out of recognition in the course of revisions.

In the third group I have placed those Purāṇas which seemed to me to have undergone two general revisions. They are like eggs.

Group III

The yolk is the kernel, the white is the first revision and the shell is the second revision. In the Brahma-purāṇa, Brahmā's interlocution with the Ṛṣis on the mountain Meru, is the real Purāṇa; but it is not large, being less than 46 chapters. That speech reported by Vyāsa with additions, to the Ṛṣis in his hermitage, is the second stage. The whole reported by Sauti to the Ṛṣis at the Naimiṣa forest is the third stage.

Similarly, the interlocution between Suka and Parikṣita from the beginning of the second Skandha

Bhagavata

to the first-half of the 5th chapter of the 12th Skandha, is the real Purāṇa. The

introduction in the second-half of the 1st Skandha, explaining who Suka was, who Parikṣita was, and why they came together, with the 6th chapter of the 12th Skandha shows the second development of the Purāṇa. The first-half of the 1st Skandha and the last-half of the 12th form the third stage.

The Brahma-vaivarta as we have it at present also shows

Brahma-Vaivarta

the three developments. The interlocutions between Nārada and Sanat-kumāra

is the real Purāṇa. Nārada's quarrel with his father for his refusal to help him in creation and his consequent suffering and submission form the introduction and his marriage with the daughter of a king, the conclusion. These are developments of the second stage. Sūta and the Ṛṣis come and form the shell of the egg.

The 4th group may be called the historical group. In it there are three Purāṇas in which the Orientalists are greatly interested as historical and geographical. Of these again, the Vāyu is lost. Only a portion of the second part of the genuine Vāyu is to be found in the library of the Asiatic Society, Bengal. The rest of the Vāyu as we find at present may be merged in the Brahmāṇḍa.

In the Viṣṇu, Sūta and Saunaka play no part, and they cannot, because the chief interlocutors are Parāśara, the father of Vyāsa and Maitreya his class-friend, to whose school Sūta belonged.

In the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa, tradition ascribes the chief interlocutorship to Vāyu; but the works as we find them, Sūta and the Ṛṣis usurp nearly two-thirds of the talk.

The 5th group consists of sectarian works, Liṅga, Vāmana and Mārkaṇḍa. Liṅga is concerned with the worship of the phallic emblem and those worshippers of Śiva who confine their worship to the emblem. Vāmana, though it describes loosely from the beginning the Dwarf incarnation of Viṣṇu and ends with the adventures of the Dwarf,—is in

reality a handbook of the Saiva sects, (1) Pāśupata, (2) Saiva, (3) Kāla-da-mana, (4) Kāpālika. Here Vāmana is nowhere one of the interlocutors. The chief interlocutors being Pulastya and Nārada; Sūta and the Ṛṣis having no concern with the Purāṇa. The second part of this Purāṇa is called the Vṛhad-vāmana, but we have not found it yet.

The Mārkaṇḍa-purāṇa has a long introduction in which four bird sages, undergoing punishment for disobeying their learned father in their previous existence as learned Brahmins, solving some intricate questions about the Mahābhārata. Then

commences the interlocution of Mārkaṇḍa giving the description of some of the previous ages of Manu and the worship of the Devi.

The sixth group consists of Varāha, Matsya and Kūrma.

Group VI

According to the tradition, the Purāṇas should be spoken by these three incarnations of Viṣṇu. But actually we find that Varāha speaks about a half of the Varāha, Matsya only the one-third part of the Matsya and Kūrma only the one-eighth part of the Purāṇa ascribed to his name.

I have found two criteria for deciding the age of a Purāṇa :

Criterion for deciding age

(1) the number and order of the incarnations of Viṣṇu and (2) the enumerations of tribes and castes of India and of surrounding countries.

(1) Number and order of incarnations of Viṣṇu. If in any Purāṇa the number of the incarnations is ten and the order is the present one, viz., the Fish, the Tortoise, the Boar, the Man-lion, Paraśu-rāma, Rāma, Kṛṣṇa or Bala-rāma, Buddha and Kalki,—it cannot go beyond the 10th century A.D. For in the 11th and the 12th century Kṣemendra in Kashmere and Jaya-deva in Bengal wrote hymns to the Ten incarnations, in the same order. Two centuries earlier, Daśāvatāra cards of Viṣṇu-pura with Buddha occupying the fifth place show another order. These cards were designed in the palmy days of the Malla kings of Viṣṇu-pura who started an era from 694 A.D. The Bhāgavata has 23 Avatāras ; of these the last two Buddha and Kalki come under rather suspicious circumstances. Up to Kṛṣṇa and Bala-rāma, the Avatāras are all numbered but these two have no number before their names, and this list occurs in the second stage of the Bhāgavata. So the latest revision must have been made some centuries before the 8th century A.D., for from 23 to 10 is a long leap. In the genuine portion of the Bhāgavata, the list runs up to 25 in chapter 7 of Skandha II ; and it is curious that

the Garuḍa, which I put in the third or fourth century A.D. for its taking Kalāpa tradition of Grammar, copies not the Bhāgavata enumeration of Avatāras but that which is found in its latest revision.

Similarly in the Padma-purāṇa, Bhṛgu, the father-in-law of Viṣṇu cursed Viṣṇu that he would be born on earth seven times only. I need not be exhaustive. But it is sure that a comparison of the enumeration of the different incarnations will lead to important results as regards the chronology of the Purāṇas.

(2) The enumeration of castes and tribes of India and surrounding countries, may also lead to important results as regards chronology. For instance, in the latest portion of the Brahma-purāṇa Pārasikas are mentioned as an important people. The Pārasikas became dominant on the west of India in 226 A.D. But, in the real Purāṇa spoken by Brahmā, Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas are mentioned. These became powerful in the west of India from 200 B.C. to 200 A.D. So there must have elapsed from two to eight centuries between the composition of the Purāṇa and its latest revision.

The study of the Purāṇas has brought to light India's **Indian Archipelago** work in the Indian archipelago. In a chapter of the Vāyu-purāṇa, published by Rājā Rājendralāla Mitra—call it Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa if you like,—there is an enumeration of six islands in the Indian ocean with a very large number of smaller islands many yojanas beyond the seas. The six islands enumerated are : (1) Āṅga, (2) Yama, (3) Malaya, (4) Śaṅkha, (5) Kuśa and (6) Varāha. They were inhabited by the ulecchas and the worshippers of gods. In one of these, i.e., Yama-dvīpa, there is a mountain named Mandāra where Agastya had his hermitage, and where on holy moments the heaven came down on the hills, and where there is a holy place sacred to Mahādeva and where his sister named Kumudā is worshipped. In the

Varāha island, Viṣṇu in the Boar incarnation is worshipped to the exclusion of other deities.

The chief characteristic of the Purāṇas are not the five, Holy place and given in the Amara-koṣa, nor the ten of religious vows the Bhāgavata. The Matsya has given

the true estimate of these characteristics. It practically says that the spread of education and knowledge is the scope of the Purāṇas. But one who runs can read two things in the Purāṇas, (1) the liturgy and legends of holy places, and (2) the liturgy and legends of religious vows. The liturgy is always a subject-matter of the Smṛti and the Purāṇas often usurp this, but the legends are their monopoly.

The description of the holy areas of Kurukṣetra, Mathurā, Vṛndāvana, Ujjayinī, Prabhāsa, Abu, Dvārakā, etc., are so minute and appear to be so accurate that when on the first onrush of Muhammadan conquest, these were either abandoned or desolated, Indian archæologists, Sannyāsins and house-holders could with the Purāṇas in hand identify the holy spots even though these areas remained desolate for three hundred years. It is a glorious achievement of the Hindu religious activities that in the 15th and the 16th centuries, these areas were revived and restored. The descriptions of the temples of Somanāth, Mahākāla and others also helped the Hindus to restore them shortly after they had been demolished. These restorations and revivals were possible simply because the Purāṇas recorded and registered the holy sites. M. M. Nilmoni Mukherji, the editor of the Kūrma-purāṇa, regrets that many of the holy places recorded in the Purāṇas are not to be found in the present moment, but that the majority of them can be identified, even after so many revolutions,—political, social, cultural, religious and literary,—goes to the credit of the Purāṇas.

The Purāṇas also record minutely the religious calendar of Ancient Hindu the Hindus at different times and Calendar different places. A comparison of this calendar with those of the present day will be an anthropological interest of the highest kind. The comparison will show

how with every change in the habit, manners, customs, social and domestic arrangements the calendar also has changed. For instance, what is Sarasvatī-pūjā in Bengal with the imposing figure of Sarasvatī and her lotus garden is only a spring-festival in other parts of India; what is Durgā-pūjā in Bengal—is an autumn-festival with the imposing worship of luxuriant vegetation in other parts of India. But look into the Purāṇas, these sacred days were allotted to some proper deities whose worship was the centre of attraction during those days. In this way the Purāṇas and specially the Mahā-purāṇas, are rich mines of information on ancient Indian subjects, and the best way for the beginner is to study the Garuḍa-purāṇa. It gives all things in one place in the briefest manner.

The operations in search for Sanskrit manuscripts have brought to light this vast mass of Purāṇic literature. But much remains to be done yet. Few Purāṇas are complete. Old recensions are to be sought for; new manuscripts are to be brought to light, and its luxuriant growth for centuries are to be laid bare before an appreciative public. For this purpose a well-organized institution should be started and encouraged under the supervision of scholars of mature understanding and wide outlook.

II.—The Date of the Bauddha Gan O Doha

By Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, M.A., Ph.D., Director,
Oriental Institute, Baroda.

Mahamahopādhyāya Haraprasād Sāstrī, the lucky discoverer of the *Bauddha Gan O Dohā*, has rendered a yeoman's service to the cause of linguistic researches by furnishing us with a land-mark in the evolution of several Eastern languages. The book which is published in the Series of the Vangiya-Sāhitya Paṇṣad is divided into four parts and contains four independent works namely :—(1) The *Caryācaryavinīścaya*, (2) the *Dohākoṣa* of Sarojavajra, (3) the *Dohākoṣa* of Kṛṣṇācārya and (4) portions of the *Dākārṇava*. The *Caryācaryavinīścaya* contains a number of songs mostly in Bengali with a running commentary in Sanskrit. The two *Dohākoṣas* also contain couplets in the same vernacular with running commentaries in Sanskrit. The *Dākārṇava* is a Sanskrit Tāntric work with passages written in a curious language intervening. The book was published some eleven years back in Bengali characters and that is probably the reason why it did not meet with the popularity it deserved ; and failed to attract the attention of the European scholars engaged in linguistic researches. In Bengal this publication met with absurd and hostile criticisms at the hands of literary adventurers and opportunists. This unique publication has been thus much neglected and thrown into the back-ground.

Some critics declared that it is not Bengali but Prākṛta. Some declared the language to be Apabhraṃśa. Others were content to say that the language is not so old as the editor would like to think. The editor, however, boldly declared the language to be the language of authors living in Bengal, and as a language at least one thousand years old, be it Bengali or Apabhraṃśa or Prākṛtā. He was modest in his estimate when he called them as only thousand years old. Dr. S. K. Chatterjee of the Calcutta University, who is a close student

of the Indian dialects with special reference to Bengali recognized the language of the songs and Dohās as Bengali but he declared in his monumental work on the *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, that the songs cannot be of any earlier date than the middle of the tenth century.¹ The object of the present paper is to show that the estimate of the editor and that of Dr. Chatterjee are too modest and that the date of the songs is much earlier.

In the *Caryācaryaviniścaya* we find mention of a large number of authors, some of whom are known to us from different other sources. If their dates are settled we naturally settle the dates of the songs they composed. Mm. Sāstrī will argue that Luipā was the first Siddhacarya and as he helped Dipankarāśrījñāna—a contemporary of Mahipāla I (798-1030 A.D.), the songs can never be earlier than that period.² But the present writer unfortunately cannot associate himself with the arguments advanced by the learned editor as they are against all literary and historical traditions, as will be shown presently.

The authors of the songs include Luipā, Saraha, Nāgārjuna, Śābarī, Kṛṣṇācārya, Dārikapā, Dombī Heruka and many others. And when we fix up their time we fix up the time of the *Bauddha Gān O Dohā*. All these names are celebrated and well-known in the realm of Buddhist Tāntric literature and numerous works are attributed to them in the Tibetan Tāngyur. They wrote a large number of Sādhanas and many among them are to be found in the *Sādhana-mālā* published as nos. 26 and 41 of the *Gackwad's Oriental Series*. Some biographical accounts of these authors are also recorded in the Tibetan works like the Paṅ Sam Jōn Zan, Tārānāth's *Geschiehte* and the *History of the 84 Mahāsiddhas*, published in German by Arthur Grünwedel. These works, however, contain

¹ Op. cit, p. 81.

² In the Tāngyur Catalogue only two authors are mentioned for the work *Abhisamayavibhāṅga*. It is quite possible that Dipankara wrote only a commentary on the original work composed by Luipā.

much that is legendary which appears to a student of scientific history as absurd and unreliable. But these are unfortunately at present our only material with which we may venture to build a chronology of the Tāntric authors.

Tārānāth informs us that Asaṅga—elder brother of Vasubandhu—introduced the Tantras into Buddhism and that they were handed down in the most secret manner possible upto the time of Dharmakīrti (600-615 A.D.).¹ In another place Tārānāth tells us that Saraha introduced the *Buddhakapāla Tantra*, Luipā the *Yoginisaṅcaryā*, Kambala and Padmavajra the *Hevajra-tantra*, Kṛṣṇācārya the *Samputatīlaka*, Lalitavajra the three divisions of *Kṛṣṇayāmāritantra*, Gambhiravajra the *Vajrāmṛta*, Kukkuri the *Mahāmāyā*, and Pito (?) the *Kālacakra*.² Further materials for constructing a chronological account of these authors are afforded by the two lists of succession of preceptors and disciples, one given in the *Tangyur Catalogue*³ and the other in the *Paṅ Sam Jon Zan* quoted in the edition of the *Cakrasambhūratāntra*⁴ by the late Kazi Dawasam Dupin in Arthur Avalon's *Tāntric Texts Series*. In the first the succession is as follows :—

Padmavajra
|
Anāṅgavajra
|
Indrabhūti
|
Bhagavati Lakṣmī
|
Lilāvajra
|
Dārikapā
|
Sahajayoginī Cintā
|
Dombi Heruka

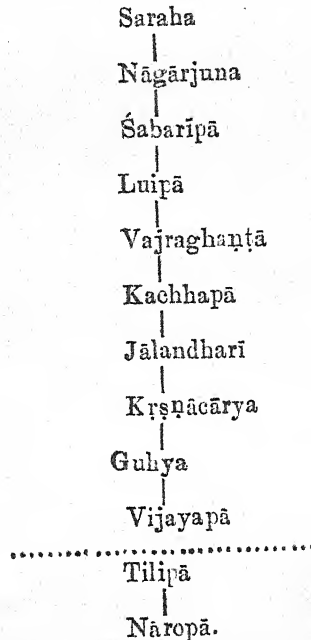
¹ Tārānāth, p. 201.

² *Ibid.*, p. 275f.

³ *Catalogue du Fonds Tibétain*, 2nd. Partie, pp. 211-212.

⁴ *Op. cit.* Introduction, p. xxxv.

In the second the succession is shown as follows :



Now Kamalaśīla the disciple of Śāntarakṣita (705-762 A.D.) went to Tibet at the invitation of the then Tibetan king in the year 762 A.D. He is well-known as the author of the voluminous commentary on the *Ta'trasaṅgraha* of Śāntarakṣita which is published as nos. 30 and 31 in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*. This Kamalaśīla wrote two commentaries in which he followed the earlier commentaries made by Saraha.¹ It stands to reason, therefore, that Saraha must have flourished at least before the middle of the 8th century. From the Tibetan sources we understand that Guru Padmasambhava went to Tibet on the invitation of the then king of Tibet in the year 747 A.D. and there established a monastery at Samye on the model of the Odantapuri Vihāra in the year 749 A.D. in collaboration with his brother-in-law Śāntarakṣita.² It therefore, stands also to reason that Indrabhūti—the father of Padmasambhava and

¹ *Catalogue du Fonds Tibetain*, 2nd. Partie, p. 248.

² Waddel. *Lamaism*, p. 67.

disciple of Anāṅgavajra must have belonged to the 1st quarter of the 8th. century.¹

Thirdly Dārikapā in one of his songs reverentially mentions the name of Luipā and it stands therefore, to reason that Luipā was earlier than Darikapā.² Fourthly, it may be remembered that Kambala and Padmavajra were responsible for the introduction of the *Hevajratāntṛa* into Buddhism.³ Jālandharipā in the second succession list was the first to profess the *Hevajratāntṛa* and to write a few works on the same, and they are preserved to-day in the Tangyur collection in Tibetan translations.⁴

If we take Padmasambhava to be 30 years of age when he visited Tibet, 747 A.D. and if we take Indrabhūti to be 30 years of age when his second son Padmasambhava was born, then the time of Indrabhūti can be fixed in a period between A.D. 687-717 onwards. And if we take 12 years between each succession of a Guru and his disciple then the approximate time of the first succession list will be as follows :—

Padmavajra	...	...	Cir.	693 A.D.
Anāṅgavajra	...	...	"	705 "
Indrabhūti	...	...	"	717 "
Lakṣmīnkarā	...	...	"	729 "
Līlavajra	...	...	"	741 "
Dārikapā	...	...	"	753 "
Sahajayogini Cintā	...	...	"	765 "
Ḍombi Heruka	...	...	"	777 "

Then again, if Jālandharipā is considered to be removed by one generation from Padmavajra who introduced the *Hevajratāntṛa* for the first time and the interval of 12 years is taken between each succession the chronological order of the second succession list will be as given below. But it must be remarked in this connection that I do not consider the second list as thoroughly

¹ *Glimpses of Vajrayāna* in the Madras Conference Proceedings, p. 133f.

² Cf. *Bauddha Gān*, p. 53.

लुइपाअपरा दारिक द्वादश भुञ्ज्यते लथा ॥

³ Tārānāth, p. 275.

⁴ See appendix at the end of the *Bauddha Gān O Dohā*, p. 29.

exhaustive and it is very probable that there is a big gap somewhere in the middle because we know already that Tilipā and Nārōpā definitely flourished in the reign of Mahipāla I (978-1030 A.D.) of the Pāla Dynasty. Therefore, in the proposed chronological order the time of the authors mentioned after Kṛṣṇācārya is to be taken as tentative :—

Saraha ...	...	...	Cir.	638 A.D.
Nāgārjuna	...	...	"	645 "
Śabaripā ...	...	...	"	657 "
Luipā ...	...	...	"	669 "
Vajraghaṇṭā	...	...	"	681 "
Kachhapā	...	...	"	693 "
Jalandharipā	...	...	"	705 "
Kṛṣṇācārya	...	...	"	717 "
Guhya ...	...	...	"	729 "
Vijayapā...	...	...	"	741 "

When we fix the time of Saraha we practically go to the root of Buddhist Tantra because Saraha is reputed to be one of the chief promulgators of the Tāntric doctrines and practices, and both Tārānāth and the author of the *Pag Sam Jon Zan* agree in saying so. According to these authors Rāhulabhadra or Saraha was the name of a Buddhist sage born of a Brāhmin and a Dākinī in the city of Rājñī (?) in the eastern country. He was an adept both in the Brāhmanical and Buddhist lore and flourished during the reign of king Chandanapāla of Prācya. He worked some miracles in the presence of king Ratnaphala and his Brāhmin minister and thereby converted them into Buddhist faith. Afterwards he became the high priest of Nālandā. It is also related of him that he visited Orissa where from one Choveśakalpa he learned the Mantrayāna and from there proceeded to Mahārāṣṭra. There he united in Yoga with a female ascetic who had approached him in the guise of an archer's daughter. Having performed the Mahāmudrā ritual he attained to Siddhi. He was thenceforward called Saraha. He used to sing Dohā hymns of mysticism and thereby converted 5,000 people and their king to Buddhism.¹

¹ Pag Sam Jon Zan, Index, p. xxvi.

Saraha wrote a large number of works and many translations of these are preserved in the Tibetan Tangyur. He is characterised as one of the earliest diffusers of Tantric Buddhism and it will, therefore, be interesting to know that our calculation makes him a contemporary of Dharmakīrti during or after whose life-time the Tantras got publicity. Several songs of his are recorded in the *Bauddha Gān O Dohā* and the language of these songs must be as old as the middle of the 7th century. We do not know where Saraha flourished beyond the fact that he belonged to the eastern country. There are two sādhanas in the *Sādhana-mālā* for the worship of Raktalokeśvara or Trailokyavaśāṅkara which is described as coming out of Uḍḍiyāna and as introduced by Saraha. I have shown in an article contributed to the *Indian Historical Quarterly* that Uḍḍiyāna was very likely situated in Assam, probably the Western part of it, which is also a part of Bengal. Saraha is connected with Uḍḍiyāna—one of the four sacred spots of Tāntric Buddhism. And is there any wonder if we consider him to be a Bengali and the language he used in the songs as the language of his own country? One may raise up an objection that the Tāntric Saraha may not be the same as the Saraha of the Dohās. In reply, it may be pointed out, that Saraha was a Vajrayānist and in the songs he has given ample evidence that he was so.

Saraha had a disciple in Nāgārjuna who is of course different from the Nāgārjuna—the founder of the Mādhyamaka system. Absurd accounts are recorded of his life and wild stories are told of his stupendous magical feats. We can, however, establish that Nāgārjuna was a historical person and belonged to the Tāntric school of Buddhism. Two sādhanas of his are recorded in the *Sādhana-mālā*. One relates to the worship of Vajratārā, while the other refers to the worship of Ekajaṭā. In the colophon of the latter it is distinctly mentioned that Nāgārjuna rescued the sādhanā from the country of Bhoṭa which is the ancient name of Tibet.¹ The worship of Ekajaṭā,

1. *Sādhana-mālā* p. 267.

therefore, appears to have been current in Tibet and the goddess probably belonged to the original Bon religion of that country. Nāgārjuna was a famous scholar and composed a large number of works. Translations in Tibetan of most of his works are preserved now in the Tibetan Tangyur. He wrote several works on the *Guhya-amā-jatantra* and this shows the antiquity of this authoritative work on Tantra and the esteem in which it was held. No song of his appears in the *Bauddha Gān O Dohā* and it is not definitely known as to the place where he was born and flourished.

Śabaripā (657 A.D.) is our third author in chronological order and a disciple of Nāgārjuna. He is described as having belonged to the hill-tribe caste, the Śabaras or huntsman, in Bāṅgālā where he met Nāgārjuna during the latter's residence in that country and embraced Tāntrism, and after being initiated by him along with his two wives Lokī and Guṇī attained to Sainthood¹. Śabaripā was a historical person and he had composed a sādhanā of Kurukullā which is published in the *Sādhnamālā* for the first time. He is also the author of a number of melodious songs in the vernacular of his country. He wrote moreover, a large number of works and many of them are preserved in Tibetan translations. He was a follower of the *Vajrayoginītantra*.

Lnipā (669 A.D.) is our next author in chronological order, and a disciple of Śabaripā. He is regarded as the first Siddhācārya or magician and is even now respected by the Tibetan Buddhist. In Cordier's *Tangyur Catalogue* he is distinctly called a Bengali.² He is further said to have sprung up from the fisherman caste of Uḍḍiyāna and was very fond of the entrails of fish. He was formerly a clerk in the employ of the king of Uḍḍiyāna and was known as Sumantaśubha.³ Several songs of his are recorded in the *Bauddha Gān O Dohā*, and

¹ *Pag Sam Jon Zan*, Index, p. cxxxi.

² *Catalogue du FondsTibétain*, II, p. 33.

³ *Pag Sam Jon Zan*, index, p. cxv.

these songs being written by a Bengali in the soil of Bengal may appropriately be called Bengali.

No information is available about Vajraghanṭā and Kachhapā and therefore, leaving them out at present, we pass on to another great name in Tāntric Buddhism. This is Padmavajra (693 A.D.)—the first name in the first succession list above referred to. He is credited with the authorship of a large number of works in the Tibetan Tangyur. He was first to introduce the *Hevajratāntra*,¹ and he stands as the author of a most interesting work in Sanskrit titled the *Guhyasiddhi* which the present writer had the good fortune to discover. Padmavajra is also said to be a contemporary of Indrabhūti, Lalitavajra and Kukkuripāda.

Jālandharipā (705 A.D.) also known as Hāḍipā whom we have placed one generation after Padmavajra or Saroruhavajra, is characterized by Tārānāth as a contemporary of many important personalities such as Bhartṛhari, Vimalacandra, Kṛṣṇācārya or Kānhupā, Tāntipā and even Dharmakīrti. In several works notably the *Pag Sam Jon Zan* it is said that he was buried in a hole underground by the order of the king Gopīcandra of Cātigāon who was afterwards converted to mysticism by the Ācārya. It is indeed very difficult to fix his time correctly from the above account and all that can be said now is Jālandharī was regarded as a very ancient Siddhācārya as may be evidenced by Tārānāth's making him a contemporary of Dharmakīrti whose time is definitely known to be the first half of the 7th century A.D. His other contemporaries are mostly mysterious persons and none can say, with any measure of accuracy, as to the time when they flourished. The very fact that Jālandharī wrote a commentary on a work of Saroruhavajra (also known as Padmavajra) and followed the *Hevajratāntra* introduced by the latter, places him at least one generation after Padmavajra who flourished at the end of the 7th century. Jālandharī wrote several works in Sanskrit, translations of which are preserved in Tibetan Tangyur. From

1. Tārānāth, p. 275f.

the list of works composed by him we can understand that Jalandharī knew about the existence of the *Cakrasamvaratantra*, the *Vajrayoginītantra* and the *Hevajratantra*.

Anaṅgavajra (705 A.D.) the disciple of Padmavajra, is characterized in the *History of the 84 Mahāsiddhas*, as the son of king Gopāla of Eastern India. The time of Gopāla has been fixed by V. A. Smith as cir., 746 A.D. S. C. Vidyābhūṣaṇa placed him between 695 and 705 A.D.¹ Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar also doubts the date proposed by V. A. Smith and in the absence of any inscriptional or monumental evidence we are more in favour of accepting the earlier date. Anaṅgavajra's time will therefore, be in consonance with the theory advanced in the *History of 84 Mahāsiddhas*. Anaṅgavajra seems to be a fairly well-known author as can be seen from the works written by him whose translations now find place in the Tibetan Tangyur. One of his famous compositions is the *Prajñopāya-viniścayasiddhi*, copies of which are available in the Nepal Darbar Library, the Library of Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Oriental Institute, Baroda. The work is characterized by his boldness of spirit and the lucidity of his teachings. Like Jalandharīpā, who is probably his contemporary, he also wrote several works on the *Hevajratantra* which was for the first time introduced into Buddhism by his Guru Padmavajra in collaboration with Kambalapā. We do not know if Anaṅgavajra wrote any song in vernacular, but it can be easily seen that he was a native of Bengal.

Indrabhūti (717 A.D.) the king of Uḍḍiyāna is the direct disciple of Anaṅgavajra. His sister was Lakṣmīṅkarā who was married according to the *History of 84 Siddhas* to the prince of Sambhala and attained Siddhi. Indrabhūti was regarded as an authority on Vajrayāna and had written a large number of works. Twenty-three among them are preserved in the pages of the Tibetan Tangyur in translations. He stands as the author of the Kurukullā sadhana in the *Sādhana-mālā* and as the author of a very interesting work the *Jñānasiddhi* which

¹. Indian Logic, p. 323.

has been taken up for publication in the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*. He is not known to us as a writer of vernacular songs but as he belonged to Uḍḍiyāna he may be taken to be a man from Bengal.

The next author in chronological order is Kṛṣṇācārya (717 A.D.) also known as Kānhupā the disciple of Hādipā. Tārānāth makes him a contemporary of Jālandhārī, Bhartṛhārī, Gopīcandra and even Dharmakīrti. Tārānāth is probably wrong in making him a contemporary of Dharmakīrti who as we definitely know flourished in the first half of the 7th century. Kṛṣṇācārya seems to be a contemporary of Jālandhārī and Gopīcandra both of whom in all probability flourished in the first quarter of the 8th century. According to *Pag Sam Jon Zan* Kṛṣṇa was born in a Brāhmin family of Orissa and was initiated into the mystic cult by Jālandhārīpā. His disciple was a weaver (Tāntipā) and he is credited in the same work with having introduced the Tantras in which the male and female divinities sit clasping each other.¹ Kṛṣṇācārya stands as the author of a *Dohākosa* and several songs of the *Caryācarya-viniścaya* written in his own vernacular which was probably Uḍḍiyā and showed great affinity towards the old Bengali language.

In the history of Vajrayāna the name of Lakṣmīnkarā (729 A.D.) is interesting not only because she is a woman but also because of the novel doctrines she preached without reserve and with great confidence and emphasis. Born in the royal family of Uḍḍiyāna as sister of Indrabhūti, she showed remarkable boldness in preaching her own peculiar theories in a small but interesting work entitled the *Advayasiḍḍhi*. This work was long lost in the original Sanskrit but was preserved in the Tibetan Tangyur in translation. To this work in the original Sanskrit attention of scholars was first drawn by Mm. Haraprasād Sāstrī in one of the stray numbers of an extremely irregular journal which is known as the *Dacca Review*. We have since had an opportunity of studying the original work more carefully but this is not the place to enumerate the leading

¹ Op. cit. index p. v.

ideas revealed by the study. Suffice to say, that in this work the influence of Indrabhūti's Jñānasiddhi is very pronounced, and this is due probably to the fact that Lakṣmīṅkarā was not only a sister of Indrabhūti but one of his favourite disciples also.

Lakṣmīṅkarā's direct disciple was Līlāvajra (741 A.D.). He was also a Vajracārya of great repute and wrote a large number of authoritative works. So far as we know none of his works is extant in original Sanskrit, but many are preserved in Tibetan translations in the Tangyur collection. In his time both Vajrayāna and Sahajayāna were in a flourishing condition; and the *Guhyasamājatantra* and *Ḫṛṣṇayamāritantra* were regarded as very authoritative. In fact Līlāvajra composed works on all of them. It appears from the Tangyur that he acknowledged also another guru by name Vilāsavajra besides the one already mentioned. In the same way besides Dārikapā he had another devoted disciple in Karunācala. This latter was a poet of high merit and two of his compositions appear in the *Sādhana-mālā*. His compositions are distinguished by the easy flowing diction and devotional language. In the end of the sādhana of Vajramahākāla he has mentioned the name of his guru Līlāvajra with great reverence.

The name of Dārikapā (753 A.D.)—the disciple of Līlāvajra is fairly well known through the publication of Mm. Haraprasād Sāstri. He is inclined to think that Dārika was a Bengali and wrote a number of songs in his own dialect, some of which are recorded in the *Bauddha Gān O Dohā*. In one of his songs he offers obeisance to Luipā and this leads the editor to think that Dārika was a direct disciple of Lui. Luipā as we have shown belonged to an earlier age and as such any close connection between the two is hardly admissible. Lui was reputed to be the first Siddhacārya and that may be the reason why Dārika reverentially mentions him in one of his songs. Dārika composed a pretty large number of works in Sanskrit but none of them is found to be existent in original Sanskrit. From the Tangyur it appears that Dārika wrote books on *Cakrasamvartatantra*, *Kālacakratantra*, *Vajrajogim-tantra*.

In the same chain of succession another woman-guru steps in in the person of Sahajayoginī Cintā (765 A.D.); who is a disciple of Dārikapā, and is known to us as the author of the *Vyakṭābhāvānugatatattvasiddhi*—a small work in Sanskrit of which a translation in Tibetan also exists. It appears from her work that she was a follower of the Vijnānavādī school of Buddhist philosophy, and laid particular stress on the universe being nothing but the creation of the *citta* or the mind. It is the mind, she says, which begets misery and in consequence creates all external objects. The Prajñā and Upāya are also the creations of the mind and when they combine they give rise to Mahāsukha in the mind which fancies the whole external world to the forms of Mahāsukha. The mind, she says, has its vagaries and its own ways. Sometimes it sleeps, sometimes it is awake and active. Sometimes it begets the desires, sometimes it is pure or impure. Sometimes it has many forms and sometimes it is in an undescrivable state. The Yogin who is able to realize the voidness of the external world and keep the mind free from reflection in all its different states and in all its vagaries and ways is really emancipated and the Buddhahood for him is easy of attainment.

Next comes Dombī Heruka (777 A.D.)—the disciple of Sahajayoginī who like Dārika is well-known to many through the publication of the *Bauddha Gān O Dohā*. He is described as the king of Magadha who later on became an ascetic. He composed several songs which appear in the *Bauddha Gān* and is reputed to be the author of the *Dombīgītika* containing vernacular songs. He also composed a sādhana of the goddess Nairātmā which is recorded in the *Sādhana-mālā*. From this sādhana it appears that he was a follower of the *Hevajratāntra*. He wrote a fairly large number of works and translations of many exist in Tibetan. Besides these he wrote another work entitled *Sahajasiddhi* which we had the good fortune to discover.

In the history of the evolution of Tantric Buddhism and the Bengali language, there is a big gap of about 200 years from

777 to 980 A.C. and the chronology of the period is completely shrouded in mystery. The palmy days of the Tāntric culture again reappeared in the reign of king Mahipāla I of the Pāla dynasty who flourished according to V. A. Smith in a period between 978—1030 A. D. It is in this period that Dipaṅkaraś-rījñāna flourished and carried the torch of Buddhist culture to Tibet to illumine that country. It is in this period that Advayavajra or Avadhūtipā, his disciple Lalitagupta, Tilopā of Catigāon, Ratnākaraśānti, Prajñākaramati and Nāropā flourished and were regarded by their highly technical compositions as the greatest luminaries of the Vikramaśīla monastery.

Having thus outlined the chronological history of the Buddhist Tāntric authors, some of whom wrote in vernaculars also, let us now divert our attention to the others, authors of songs who do not come under the scope of the previous discussions. Unfortunately for us we have no information as regards the time or biographical details of the authors like Guṇḍarī, Caṭilya, Mahidhara, Vipā, Dhenḍhana, Bhāde Tāḍaka and Jayanandī. Regarding the rest we shall here give a short account together with their dates wherever possible.

1. & 2. Kukkuri and Kambala : In Tangyur Kukkuri was also known as Kukkurāja or Kukkurarāja and a large number of works are attributed to him in Tibetan Tangyur. In the *Sādhanamālā* he stands as the author of the Mahāmāyāsādhana where Mahāmāya represents Heruka in the embrace of Buddhaḍākinī, and is described as four-armed and four-faced surrounded by four Yoginīs. In this sādhanā the word Heruka is analysed, dissected and each particle explained. It contains also some couplets in vernacular which may very probably represent either Bengali or Uḍiyā. According to Tārānāth¹ he introduced the Mahāmāyā-tantra and was a contemporary of Kambala, Padmavajra, and Lalitavajra. It has already been shown that Padmavajra flourished in A. D. 693 and therefore the time of Kukkuri and Kambala also should be placed some-where near.

¹ Tārānāth, pp. 188, 275.

Viruva : He stands as an author of more than a dozen works in the Tibetan Tangyur. He is styled as Mahācārya, Yogīśvara and Mahāyogī. In the *Sādhana-mālā* he appears as the author of the last sādhanā which refers to the worship of a very furious form of Mahākāla with eight faces, sixteen arms and four legs. In the sādhanā the whole Maṇḍala of Mahākāla with attendant deities is described in detail and numerous applications of the mantra are mentioned for a variety of purposes beginning with the relieving of pain of a woman in labour and ending in the scaring of animals. He was a native of Tripurā and his songs must therefore, be in Bengali.¹

Bhusuku : Bhusuku is a very interesting figure but who was he and where he flourished are the two questions which must be regarded as problematic for some time to come. He appears to be identical with Śāntideva who is reputed to be the author of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, and the *Sūtrasamuccaya*. A manuscript preserved in the Asiatic Society of Bengal gives an interesting biography of Śāntideva and there we meet with an account of how Śāntideva was nicknamed Bhusuku. There it is said :

भुज्जानोऽपि प्रभास्वरः सुप्तोऽपि कुटिङ्गतोऽपित्वदेवेति
भुसुकुसमाधिसमापन्न-त्वात् भुसुकुनामख्यातिं सङ्केऽपि ।

In the *Pag Sam Jon Zan*² it is said that Śāntideva was a native of Saurāṣṭra but I am inclined to think that he belonged to Bengal. It is evident from his song—

आजि भुसु बंगाली भईली ।

गिम् घरिणि चन्डाली लेलि ॥

It is not known when he flourished. He was quite a well-known figure in the Nalanda monastery but I' Tsing did not mention him in his travels. Sāntarakṣita (705-762 A.D.)—author of the *Tattvasaṅgraha* in one of his works entitled the

¹ Pag Sam Jon Zan, index, p. lxxii.

² Ibid, index, p. xcix.

Tattvasiddhi quotes from the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. It is therefore, very likely that he must have flourished sometime after I' Tsing's departure from India in 695 A.D. and Śāntarakṣita's first visit to Tibet in 743 A.D.¹

Śānti : Ratnākaraśānti is nicknamed in the Tangyur as Śāntipa. He wrote a large number of works and their translations are preserved in the Tibetan Tangyur. He was styled as Ācārya and Mahāpaṇḍita. In the *Sādhana-mālā* he stands as the author of a sādhana devoted to the worship of Vajratārā. There his name is also mentioned in connection with the diffusion of the worship of Trailokyakṣepa—a form of Heruka.² He was a fairly well-known scholar and was incharge of the eastern gate of the Vikramaśīla monastery. He was a contemporary of king Mahipāl (978-1030 A.D.) and therefore must have flourished during his reign.³

Āryadeva : All that we know about him is that he was a follower of Vajrayāna and the author of the *Cittasodhana-prakarana* which was published by Mm. H. Sāstri in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in the year 1898. He must be distinguished from the earlier Āryadeva—the disciple of Nāgārjuna who is the founder of the Madhyamaka system and flourished in the second century A.D. Āryadeva was very hard on Hindus whose pet theories and doctrines of salvation he scathingly criticized and held up to ridicule. I cannot resist the temptation of quoting a few stanzas from his work :

प्रतरन्नपि गङ्गायां नैव श्वाशुबिसर्हति ।
तस्माद्धर्मधियां पुंसां तीर्थस्नानं तु निष्कलम् ॥
धर्मो यदि भवेत् स्नानात् कैवर्तानां कृतार्थता ।
नक्तन्दिवं प्रविष्टानां मत्स्यादीनां तु का कथा ॥
पापक्षयोऽपि स्नानेन नैव स्यादिति निश्चयः ।
यता रागादिबुद्धिस्तु दृश्यते तीर्थसंविनाम् ॥ ⁴

¹ Foreword to the *Tattvasaṅgraha*, p. xxiii.

² op. cit. p. 474.

प्रणम्य श्रीगुरुं नाथं त्रैलोक्याच्च पदैवकम् ।

तत्साधनविधिः शान्तिपादोक्तः प्रविभज्यते ॥

³ *Pag Sam Jon Zan*, index, p. ex.

⁴ J.A.S.B., 1898, p. 175ff.

From his songs it appears however that he was a resident of Bengal.

Kaṅkana : Kaṅkanapā is reputed to be the author of the *Caryādohakoṣāgītikā* and only one song of his appears in the *Bauddha Gān O Dohā*. The clue to ascertain his date is furnished by the Tangyur catalogue¹ where he is described as a descendant of Kambalāpa. Kambalāpa, it may be remembered, was the person with whose collaboration Padmavajra introduced the *Hevajratantra*. Padmavajra flourished in Cir. A.D. 693 and therefore Kaṅkanapā must be only one generation later and his time will fall in with the time of Anāṅgavajra 705 A.D.

Thus the time of the earliest Dohās in Bengali goes back to the middle of the 7th. century when Saraha flourished and Bengal may justly be proud of the antiquity of her literature. These songs, moreover, furnish a land mark in the development of provincial dialects and their accurate time of composition will facilitate their study in a more precise manner.

¹ Catalogue du Fonds Tibetain, II, p. 231.

III.—A dramatic production of the eighth century : The development of Modern

Swāng.

By N. C. Mehta, I.C.S.

The Kuṭṭanāi-Matam by Dāmodar Gupta, the Chief Minister of King Jayāpīḍa of Kashmir, written about 755-766 A. D. in 1059 *āryā* verses deserves to be studied in detail for the light it throws on the social conditions of India in the eighth century. The work is ably edited with a very good Sanskrit commentary of the modern type by the late Tanasukharām Mansukharām Tripathi.

It would seem that the amours of Krishna were firmly established in traditions even of the eighth century.

किंवहसि वृथागर्वं प्रियोऽहमिति योषितां नराधीश ।

काञ्चन्तिस्म मुरारिं षोडशगोपी सहस्राणि ॥ ७७३

Again in verse 860

अपसरसः किं न वशे वैदग्ध्यवतां च किं न धौरियः ।

येन चकारासकिं गोविन्दो गोपदारेषु ॥ ८६०

Gambling appears to have been in vogue during the Holi festival as it is now in Northern India among the Hindus during the Diwali, for Dāmodar Gupta says that it is only by the presence of the veil or otherwise that it is possible to distinguish good women from bad ones, who are engaged in the game of dice and use the language appropriate to the occasion :

तुल्यव्यापारगिरांकनानां देवनप्रसक्तानाम् ।

आर्यानार्यावगमं वदनावृति जालिका कुरुते ॥ ८८५

Students of Sanskrit have long known that the veil in India is not a Muslim innovation at all, but that it is at least as old as the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki. It is however possible that the Muslim rule strengthened the rigours of the veil in some parts of India, though in Gujrat at any rate, which came under

Islamic subjection about the end of the 12th century, there was progressive emancipation of women till at the present day the women of Western India enjoy perhaps the greatest freedom among the women folk of India. The Marāthā women do not appear to have observed the custom of the *parda* for many centuries, though for centuries Mahārāshtra the land of the Marāthās was under the sway of the Muslim power of the Tughlaks and later of the Bāhmani rulers of Bijapur, Golkonda and Ahmad-nagar. The fact is that the Musalmans have been unfairly accused of having established and supported the seclusion of women. The conception of equal freedom for both sexes is one of modern growth and in some ways, especially, in the recognition of women's status in the scheme of inheritance, the Muslim law was far in advance of any other law till recently, and is even now infinitely more just and equitable than the personal law of the Hindus; while the latter have been on the whole more progressive at least in recent times than the Musalmans in relaxing the rigours of the social system and in promoting the educational development of their women. *Vadana averti jālikā* which exactly corresponds to the word *burkhā* or the veil, was, as it is now, except in Western India, the privilege — the hall-mark of the upper classes and the *bourgeoisie*.

The portion of the book of particular interest to present-day students is the one dealing with the episode of the prince Samarabhaṭṭa, of Devarāshtra (modern Mahārāshtra), the son of Simhabhaṭṭa, who visited the famous shrine of Vishveshvara in Benares.* Here the prince met various classes of people, and when he inquired about the state of music, the Nṛtyācharyā — the dance-master, 'replied : how can there be equality in the art of acting, where the leaders are calculating individuals, (वणिज)

*The description of Samarabhaṭṭa with a walking stick, a dagger, a *dupatta* and creaking shoes as given in V. 742 is rather interesting.

धृतवेचदण्डकूर्चकपरिवेष्टितसामिधेनुखड्गश्च ।

मृदुतरपटिका वरणः शब्दोल्लसन्नुचुराङ्गचरणतः ॥ ७४२

and the actors are disreputable women—the very home of guile and cunning ?'

स उवाच ततो वणिजो नेतारोच्यत्र, यत्र पात्राणि ।

शाठ्यायतनं दास्यंस्तत्र कुत* : सौष्टवं नाट्ये ॥ ७८४

It seems that Benares was famous as now for its courtezans, but as the dance-master pointed out :

चेतोऽन्तरा न सत्त्वं, सत्त्वे सति चाहता प्रयोगस्य ।

न भवति सा वेश्यानां मद्यामिषपुरुषनिहितहृदयानाम् ॥ ७८५

'Distraction of mind is not conducive to good performance. On good performance depends the beauty of acting and that is not possible in the case of courtezans with their minds pre-occupied with wine, meat and men.' The arts of acting, dancing and music seem to have already fallen on evil days in the latter half of the eighth century and became the monopoly of the *danseuse*—the social outcast. The next verse no. 800 is of special interest, for the master says, he and his pupils have sought refuge in the temple on account of its being a place of pilgrimage, and also as the King *ANANGA-HARSHA* was now no more :

वयमपि देवनिकेतनमनगं हर्षं गते त्रिदिवलोकम् ।

आश्रितवन्तो गत्वा [इत्वा ?]† तीर्थस्थानानुरोधेन ॥

The implication is clear as to the decline of the arts since the death of the emperor Harsha in 648 A.D. The name Ananga-Harsha seems to have become current after the following verse from Ratnavali, Act I, as first pointed out by Professor K. H. Dhurva in 1915 in his introduction to Harsha's play—*Priya darshanā*.

अनंगोऽयमनंगत्वमद्य निदिष्यति ध्रुवम् ।

यदनेन न संप्राप्तः पाणिस्पर्शादिवस्त्वव ॥

*The reading वेदया : instead of दास्य : is, as pointed out by Professor K. H. Dhurva is more suitable.

†C.f. verse 918 which is a paraphrase of this Verse.

इत्वा makes no sense. तीर्थस्थानानुरोधेन is a better reading and more appropriate, as suggested to me by Professor K. H. Dhurva.

Mr. Tripathi has cited several parallels, such as

धूमकालिदास दोषशिखाकालिदास चातपत्रभारवि ।

for Kalidasa and Bhāravi-Bhatta Shrikantha became famous as Bhavabhūti Shrikantha.—The memories of Shri Harṣha as the great patron of learning and arts and also as a dramatist of distinction seem to have been poignantly vivid to the Chief Minister of the King Jayapīda of Kashmir.

The dance-master in order to terminate the argument between the prince's minister and the mother of one Manjari a pupil of his and a famous exponent of the part of Ratnāvali, whether the association with concubines is preferable to that with courtezans, offers to give a performance of the first act of Harṣha's well known play Ratnāvali. The performance is described in verses numbers 880—928, and the description is of surpassing interest as the only extant one giving us detailed information regarding the representation of a play of the type of Ratnāvali in ancient India. It should be noted that the entire troupe of the dance-master consists of women, two of whom are described by him. One of them is Manjari who is the heroine in the episode of Samarabhaṭa and the other is unnamed who plays the rôle of the King Udayana in the play. The status of these danseuses is that of the ordinary courtesan. *Devadāsīs* would appear to have been a feature common to celebrated shrines in ancient India. When they disappeared except in the South is unknown, just as the history of the emancipation of the women from seclusion in Gujerat, Mahārāshtra and some portions of the further South.

The subject-matter of the performance is the first act of Ratnāvali by Shri Harṣha, the summary of which is quoted below from Keith's Sanskrit Drama, pp. 171-172 :

“ The ubiquitous Yaugandharāyaṇa, insatiable in seeking his master's welfare, has planned marriage for him with the daughter of the King of Ceylon, but to attain his end has been difficult ; to avoid vexing the queen Vāsavadattā, he has kept her in the dark, and has spread a rumour which he has had conveyed by Babhravya, the king's chamberlain, of the death

of Vāsavadattā in a fire at Lāvāṇaka. The king of Ceylon then yields the hand of his daughter, and despatches her in the care of the chamberlain and his minister, Vasūbhuti to Vatsa, but, wrecked at sea, she is rescued by a merchant of Kausāmbi taken there, and handed over to Vāsavadattā who, seeing her beauty, decides to keep her from contact with her inconstant spouse. But fate is adverse; at the spring festival which she celebrates with Vatsa, Sāgarikā, as the princess is called from her rescue from the sea, appears in the queen's train; hastily sent away, she lingers concealed, watches the ceremony of the worship of the god Kāma, thinking Vatsa is the god in bodily presence, but is undeceived by the eulogy of the herald announcing the advent of evening."

It should be mentioned that the performance takes place within the precincts of a temple and though the provision of the orchestra राचते सकलाद्ये is mentioned, there is no reference to any scenery whatsoever. The representation is introduced by singing accompanied by appropriate instruments as described in verses 381-384. The dance-master alone as Sūtradhāra appears to have sung the *Dvipadī* and *Dhruvā*, though it was permissible for a chorus to sing them. This musical opening or overture takes place before the benediction or *Nāndī* and seems to have been independent of the play proper in its literary and musical composition, for most plays begin with the direction—"enters Sūtradhāra at the end of the benediction "नान्द्यन्ते सूत्रधार : and even in plays such as, by Bhāsa, the musical *dvipadīs* and *dhruvās* are never described or incorporated in the body of the drama. The musical overture was perhaps generally in the nature of a chorus followed by the Sūtradhāra who introduced the real subject of representation. As Mr. Tripathi says (page 340), there were probably two Sūtradhāras—one for the *nāndī* and the other for the story of the play. *

* As Professor K. H. Dhruva first pointed out in 1909 in his *Mudrā-rakṣasa* पूर्वगंसूत्रधार and नाटकसूत्रधार ।

The minister Yaugandharāyana is introduced in 2 verses 885-6. He merely points to Vatsarāja going up the palace and departs. In verses 889-895 is described the motley crowd engaged in celebrating the Holi with colour syringes, *gulāl* and bad language, very much as at the present day. Then are introduced two servant girls—Madanikā and Chūtalatikā, going to the king with a message from the queen Vāsavadattā (896-903). The girls are a little drunk and let themselves go in a round of vigorous dancing. The king's companion, Vasantaka also joins in (904) with the permission of his master. In verses 910-919 is described the worship of the god of love by Vāsavadattā in the presence of the king with Sāgarikā in the background, unobserved. The close of the act is again signalled by the singing of the *dhruvās* signifying departure and by the playing of various instruments (928-9).

It will be seen from the brief analysis of the description above that the performance was more in the nature of an operette with plenty of music and dancing rather than a piece of dramatic representation, as we now understand it. From the description given by Dāmodar Gupta the performance of Ratnāvalī was not much removed from that of a modern *Swāng* such as Rāmālīlā acted annually during the Dasera festivals all over Northern India or that of a *Bhavai* occasionally seen in rural Gujerat, as pointed out by Mr. Tripathi on page 286.* The dance-master in fact says that he and his pupils have resorted to the temple as a matter of necessity and having become discouraged in the matter of seeking a livelihood (verse 801).

The comment of Samarabhata on the performance after ordering a suitable reward to the dance-master and wishing him to become a Thakur in course of time, also emphasizes the musical part of the entertainment. Both singing and accompaniment are praised. The singers are approved for their keeping correct time

*The version of Rātnāvalī in Kuttanī-matam is in my opinion an actual acting version of Harsha's play and not merely a description of a regular performance of Harsha's play. Hence it is similar to *Bharat* where the actors have to improvise a version of some well-known story or play.

and singing with the proper *Rasa*-sentiment. **सर्वस्वरोपपन्नं
वृत्त-साध्यं साधु गान्धर्गी तम् । ८५४** While the prince enters into the technicalities of music, he only notices the appropriate changes of dress made by the actors. No one in particular is singled out for eulogy and there is nothing about acting as such in the 14 lines of the prince's comment (V. 940-7) : though faultless delivery is mentioned and the criticism is concluded by a verse in praise of the play itself (947). The absence of any reference to acting is easily understood when we remember that the play was *read* with accompaniment of song, dance and music. It was read, as the prince notes, nicely with easy delivery in all the various languages (Sanskrit and prakrits) :

अभिरामाविश्रान्तं पठितं निरवद्यमखिलभाषासू । ८४३

In these popular entertainments of *Swang* or *bhāwai* one man, usually a Brahman recites the narrative part, while the other actors interpret the narrative by appropriate dance, music or gesticulation. There is no attempt at scenery and the performance usually takes place in the open. Much depends on the subject-matter of the entertainment, which must be generally familiar. Acting, as such, plays a rather subordinate rôle, for the subject-matter of the representation produces the necessary *Stimmung* in the audience by its very familiarity, as for instance in the case of the Rāma-līlā shows or the performances of Krishna-līlā from the Bhāgwata-purāna. The celebrated Gītā-Govinda by Jayadeva is akin to the version of Ratnāvali given by Damodar Gupta. Dance and song rather than acting formed the essence of such popular entertainments and we have described in Kuṭṭanī-matam the earliest prototype of the popular *Swāṅg* or *bhāwai* of the present day.* The one-act and one-actor Bhāṇa which came into vogue after the 11th or 12th century is only a variety of these popular entertainments and there is now but little distinction between Bhāṇds—comic actors and

*of Keith op.-cit page 273. The extraordinary development of dancing is testified by the elaborate classification of it in Bharata's Nāṭyashāstra, chapter IV of 331 verses. Singing and acting were two of the most important elements of classical dancing, see pages 195-6. Nāṭyashāstra. Vol. I, Gaekwar oriental series.

the bhavaiyās, the strolling players. Thus our modern *swāṅgs* and *bhavais* trace their origins from a remote past. Their performances were highly developed and accompanied by proper music and dance as early as the eighth century. They derived their material from the epics and the Purāṇs—the lore of popular legends and adapted such splendid versions as of the Shrimad Bhāgavata in the case of the Krishna-līlā, of the Rāmāyaṇa for the Rāmalīlā and as seen in Kuṭṭānī-matam of Shri Harsha's Ratnāvalī for the exploits of perhaps one of the most popular heroes of ancient India—the king Udayana.

A work such as Kuṭṭānī-matam could only have been written in an atmosphere of extreme licentiousness—especially by the chief minister of a State. This is borne out also by the testimony of Rājatarangiṇī. Jayāpīda himself was a poet, but also addicted to the grosser pleasures of life. No wonder then, that his chief minister became famous as the author of the 'Advice of a Procuress'.

I should perhaps note in conclusion that the art of dramatic representation has not yet been really acclimatised in Northern India. The Hindi drama is a growth of the latter half of the 19th century, and even now there are no theatres for regular performances of dramas. The national entertainments are the annual Rāmalīlās and to a lesser extent the Krishnalīlās, the frequent gatherings of poets—the *mushāirās* or *kavi-sammelans* and wrestling. Nowhere in India or perhaps anywhere in the world would people congregate in such numbers as in the United provinces to hear the recitations composed for the occasion by the authors themselves. The standard of critical judgment is unexpectedly high, as also the number of people who are capable of writing verses of merit. The audience instinctively understands the rules to be observed in an assemblage of poets and the patience and good humour displayed by it are really astonishing. The *swāṅgs* and the *mushāirās* are specially characteristic of the intellectual life of the masses in the north.

IV.—Account of Mubarak Shah, the second Sayyad ruler of Delhi

Kamal Krishna Basu, T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur

Muiz ud duniya wa ud din Abu Fateh Mubarak Shah commonly known as Mubarak Shah, is the second in the line of the so-called Sayyads who ruled over Delhi after the anarchy that had lasted for a decade and a half. Of the four sovereigns who formed the Sayyad house that ruled for six and twenty years, Mubarak's reign was the longest. His personal ascendancy lasting for over thirteen years holds out no incident which is a departure from those connected with the rule of his father, the late Khizr khān. It is practically a replica of those of his father's—the recurrent rebellions and retributive campaigns forming the current coin of his administration.

In the first decade of the fifteenth century the territories of Delhi had been parcelled out into nineteen principal fiefs each under a fiefholder : the monarchy became a congeries of merely independent principalities, jagirs and provinces. The creation of an *imperium-in-imperio* undermined the safety of the central authority and increased the centrifugal tendency. The aristocracy had attained power over the King who held his throne on a precarious tenure. Feelings of bitter jealousy and rivalry ran high in the country making it a cockpit of conflicts and quarrels. As a matter of fact, it was the individual and not the law that reigned. The friends or foes, the officials or otherwise, all alike made speed to feather their own nests, and were ever ready to strike the best bargain out of the situation.

In fairness to the zeal and integrity of the first two Sayyads, it may be said that, they made herculean efforts to settle down to work in that welter of anarchy and confusion. During his short tenure of office, Khizr with his characteristic energy shouldered his way to repeated though short lived conquests over his adversaries. Fierce and brave, kind and generous,

religious and confiding, Mubarak tried to heal the wounds left by the internal quarrels and internecine wars. Taking courage in both hands, he made a show of activity by his repeated attempts to stem the rising tide of sedition. The rebellions headed by Jusrath Khokhar and Tughan signalised the opening years of Mubarak's reign and made a presage of stormy weather ahead. The recrudescence of insurrection in the countries of the Dcab, followed next in order by the animated opposition from Kampilah and Etawah, made the Sultán sick to his heart's centre. The armed resistance of Muhammad Khán, Governor of Bayána, followed in its steps by the re-appearance of Jusrath and the revolt of Paulad aided by Malik Yusuf Sarup and Henu Bhatti, made things hot for the Sultán and added fresh chapters to the story of his troublous reign. There was, thus, scarcely any event which seemed to accord with his desire. The appearance of the Governor of Kabul in aid of Paulad was another melancholy chapter in the history of Mubarak's reign; indulging in an orgy of indiscriminate bloodshed and murder, the invader struck terror into the heart of the Punjab, and for the nonce, brought the machinery of government to a standstill. Lacking, though, in the sternness and capacity of Balban, the ingenuity and statesmanship of 'Alau-d-dín, or the genius and intellect of the ill-fated Muhammad bin Tughlik, Mubarak boldly attempted to vindicate the waning prestige of the Sultáns of Delhi.

Was Mubarak like Khizr merely an agent or a representative of Timur? Yahiya, the contemporary narrator of events, who waxes eloquent in praise of Mubarak, his patron, commits nothing to writing that gives the answer in the affirmative. In marked contrast to what he wrote in connection with Khizr whom he merely designated as *Rayat-i-'ála*, Yahiya makes use of a host of high-sounding phraseologies in honour of the second Sayyad ruler of Delhi.

The copper tokens issued by the Sultán between the years 833 H. to 837 H., or 1429 to 1433 A. D., carry on the obverse the words *Shah Mubarak* or *Mubarak Shah Sultán* included in

the middle of a circle, which on its exterior is to be seen either the expressions *Ba hazrat Dehli* or *Sultán Zurbat*, the latter meaning "struck by the Sultán"; on the reverse of these coins are inscribed the words, *Naib-i-Amiru-l-Mauminin*, i.e., deputy of the commander of the Faithful, referring to the acknowledgment of formal allegiance to the Khalifá of Egypt, a practise which came into vogue since the days of Muhammad-bin-Tughlik who might have thought that "his sovereignty was in need of external confirmation of the Khalifá". The expression *Naib-i-Amiru-l-Mauminin* has been in use on the reverse of the coins since the year 785 A. H., or 1383 A.D. Thus the coins issued in the reign of Mubarak go to show, that the Sultán wielded an independent authority of his own, rendering only a formal homage to the Khalifá of Egypt.

In the pages that follow, an attempt has been made to give in detail an account of the first six years of Mubarak's reign, and it is hoped that, the incidents connected with the remaining period of his rule will be narrated in the next issue of the Journal.

Three days prior to his approaching death¹, on the 17th
 Accession of Jamadiu-l-auwal, 824 A. H.² Khizr
 Mubarak Shah, Khán³, May the blessing of God be on
 17th Jamadiu-l- his tomb! nominated his worthy and
 auwal, 824 A. H., favourite son⁴ heir-apparent, and
 May, 1421 A. D.* made him sit on the imperial throne
 with the approbation of all the *Amírs*
 and *Málikas*. After the death of Khizr Khán, the people in

P. 224.

* The page reference in the margin indicate the pages of Yahya's *Tarikh-i-Mubarakshahi*.

¹ چوں زیات عالی حضور خان طلب نژاد قریب شد که از دار غرور بدار سپهر بخرامند

² In Elliot (IV. 58), 16th *Jamadiu-l-auwal*; In Badaoni, 821 A. H. Firishta says "three days after his death".

³ The full name of the Sultán and the authors benediction upon him runs thus: معزالدنیا والدین ابروالفتح مبارک شاه خلدالدوله مدله و سلطانه و عالی امره و شانه: خلدالدوله etc. means, Eternal be his kingdom and sovereignty and most high be his command and dignity. Elliot has, "*Sultán-i-izam way Khuddáig-i-mu'azzam Ma'izzu-d-dunyá wau-d-din Mubarak Sháh*."

فرزند شایسته و خلف بایسته P

general made a fresh acknowledgment of obedience (to the new successor). The *Amírs* and *Malíks*, the prelates and chiefs, the judges and all those who were given an office in the reign of the defunct Khizr, May he have a good resting place! were confirmed in their (respective) offices, fiefs, pergannas, villages, pensions and allotments: the new Sultán even increased them

Distribution of fiefs and emoluments to nobles and people.

of his own accord¹. The fiefs in the districts of Hisar Firozah and Hānsi² were taken from Málík Rajab Nádir, and entrusted to *Malíkus-siark* Málík

Badah the Sultán's nephew.³ Málík Rajab obtained the fief of the district of Dipalpur.⁴ News now arrived that Jasrath Shaikhá Khokhar⁵ and Túghán Ráís had raised the standards of rebellion.

The cause of Túghán's resistance to authority was, that

P. 225

Rebellions of Jasrath Shaikhá Khokhar and Tugan Ráís.

a year previous to this incident, in the month of Jamadi-ul-auwal, 823 A.H., (1420 A.D.) Sultán'Alí,⁶ King of Kashmir, who took his cohorts to Thatta⁷, had

on his way back been opposed by Jasrath, when the Sultán's army was driven pell-mell⁸, a portion being still in Thatta, and a part only came out.⁹ Incapable of sustaining the attack, it

¹ مازای آن خاصه خویش زیاده گردانیده It means, "he increased his own possessions", but as it gives no sense to the context, we have adopted Elliot.

² Hisar Firozah and Hansi, in the Punjab; the former between Lat. 28° 36'—29° 49' and Long. 75° 16'—76° 23'. Hansi in Hisar Division.

³ The Ms. has, ملک بده برادر زادہ : Firishta reads, Málík Badr :

⁴ Firishta says that Málík Rajab obtained Dipalpoor and the Punjab. Dipalpur, in Montgomery, district Punjab, Lat. 30° 37', Long 73° 38'.

⁵ The Khokhars (کھوکھر) sometimes written as (کھوکھڑ) is a totally distinct race from the Gakhars: they style their chief as *Rae* as well as Sultán: Badauni, (289) says: جسرت کھوکھر بن شیخا کھوکھر: Firishta says, Jusrut brother of Sheikhá Gukkar.

⁶ In Firishta, Ally Shah.

⁷ Thatta or Tatta (Thato) in Karachi district, Sind, Bombay.

⁸ Badauni says, جسرت کھوکھر غافل ساختہ درون کھانگی شکست دادہ.

⁹ The Ms. reads, چڑی درون درون چڑی بیرون آمدہ.

made a stampede: Sultán 'Alí was made captive and his baggage and provisions were plundered. Excited with victory and exultant at the strength of his battalion, an imprudent rustic that he was, Jasrath displayed (symptoms of) intoxication and fool-hardiness, and began cherishing imaginary visions of the conquest of Delhi.¹ Being informed of the death of Khizr Khán², he went across the Biyáh (Beas) and Sutlej with a column of cavalry and infantry and fell upon Raí Kamálu-d-dín Main at Talwandi.³ Raí Firoz was constrained to betake himself to the desert.⁴ Jasrath next ravaged the territory from Ludhiyána to Rupar⁵ on the Sutlej. A few days after, he crossed the Sutlej again and led his army to Jálándhar. Zírak Khán was invested in the fort of Jálándhar, and Jasrath having encamped on the bank of Bení,⁶ at a distance of three *kuroh* from the town, made a false negotiation for peace.⁷ At length, agreement was arrived at between the contending parties on terms that, the fort was to be given up and left over under the care of Tughán,⁸ that Majlis-i-'álá Zírak Khán was to take a son of Tughán to the Sultán,⁹ and that Jasrath was to send an embassy (to His Majesty) and return home. Accordingly, on the 2nd Jamadiu-l-ákhir, 824 A.H., (June, 1421) Zírak Khán

¹ The Ms. is faulty. It runs:—جسرت مذکور مردی کوئے اندیش و روستائی بود۔
برباد شد و مشتی (؟ مستی) حشرات (؟) (جسارت) کرد خریش جمع دیر ملخریا دھلی
در سراد افتاد۔

² ہندگی رايات اعلیٰ۔

³ In Gujranwála, district Punjab, 45 M. N. of Lahore.

⁴ چرل an error for چرل

⁵ Ms. has, جدارو : Rupar, a subdivision of Ambála, district Punjab : Between 30° 45' and 31° 13' N. and 76° 19' and 76° 44' E,

⁶ Ms. has بیٹی ; In Elliot Beni : Badaoni has ہستی

⁷ مذاکرہ (؟) اصلاح درمیان آورد ؟

⁸ Firishta says, Jasrath appointed Tughan as the general-in-chief of his troops

⁹ Ms. has, ہستی (؟) ہستی طوغان مذکور برابر کوئے در حضرت ہدی

emerged out of the fort of Jálándhar, and Jásrath with the whole of his *entourage* was ready (to receive him) on the banks of Bení. Approaching Zírak Khán, Jásrath broke the sanctity of contract, and under proper escort carried him off a prisoner over Sutlej to Ludhiyána. Then on the 20th Jamadi-ul-ákhír he left the place by successive marches for Sirhind, where he arrived in the middle of the rainy season. Malik Sultán Sháh Lodí¹ was besieged in the fort of Sirhind², and although Jásrath put forth best efforts to take the fortress he failed, as God guarded it.

2. 227. When the statement of affairs supplemented by a request for succour from Sultán Sháh Lodí reached the Sultán³, he left the city (Delhi) in spite of the rainy season in the month of Rajab,⁴ and made for Sirhind; with successive marches he reached Kohilá,⁵ near Sámána*, when Jásrath hearing of his advance raised the siege on the 27th Rajab and fell back to Ludhiyána. He released Zírak Khan⁶, who went to Sámána and joined the King. The Delhi army now advanced towards Ludhiyána, where Jásrath having forded the Sutlej encamped in front of the victorious army, (on the other bank of the river). As Jásrath had secured all the boats on the river, he retarded the progress of his adversaries across the stream. For forty days they fought with each other remaining posted in their respective places. But with the appearance of canopus the waters subsided, and the

¹ Firishta says, Islám Khán.

² Sirhind (or Fatehgarh), in Patiala State, Punjab, situated in 30° 38' N. and 76° 27' E. The spelling Sirhind is modern, and due to a fanciful derivation from *Sir-hind*, the "head of India" due to its strategic position. Sahind is said to mean the "lion forest", but one tradition assigns its foundation to Sáhír Rao, a ruler of Lahore, Imp. Gaz. Punjab. II. 309 *et seq.*

³ خداوند عالم پناه

⁴ بتاريخ ماه رجب The copyist has omitted the date by mistake.

⁵ Ms. has, كوهلی : Elliot, Kohila : May be identified with mod. Koi or Khot a village in Patiala State, Punjab, 48 miles south of Ludhiyána.

* Sámána, in Patiala State, Punjab, 17 miles south-west of Patiala town.

⁶ Ms. has, زيركخان ; Firishta is of opinion that Zírak Khá² contrived to effect his escape : Badauni states, جسرت زیرکخان را گذاشت

Sultán moved to Kabulpur. Jastrath, too, keeping himself to the river bank made a *pari passu* progress. On the 11th Shawwál (Oct. 8) His Majesty sent Malik Sikandar Tuhfá, Ziruk Khán¹, Mahmud Hasan², Malik Kálu, and other Amírs with strong reinforcements to cross the river higher up at Rugar. They forded the river in the morning, and on the same day the King (with the main body of the army) advanced to the place where his *avant-courier* had crossed the stream before. Keeping himself to the river bank, Jastrath made a parallel move. When the tidings that the Imperialists had crossed the river reached him, Jastrath in a fit of nerve stationed himself at a distance of four *kuroh* from the ford. Crossing the river with his baggage and elephants, the Sultán approached the rebel, who without making any show of resistance took to his heels. The King's forces pursued the enemy closely, capturing all their equipage and slaying many a horse and footmen. Jastrath beat a hasty retreat towards Jálandhar with his brave cavalry³, and on the day following he crossed the Biyáh. At the advent of the victorious army near the Biyáh, the fugitive ran precipitately towards the Ráví. In chase of the enemy, the Sultán crossed the Biyáh at the base of the hills and reached the Ráví near Bhowá⁴. Jastrath crossed Jánháva⁵ and entered Tilhar⁶, situated in the mountains. Rái Bhim⁷, the chief of Jammu, was honoured with an interview by the Sultán⁸ and received the eminence of being appointed as (a Imperial) guide⁹. The Rái went across Jánháva, and the Royalists demolished Tilhar which was Jastrath's strongest place, imprisoning many of those

P. 223.

P. 229

¹ مجلس عالی زبیر خان

² ملك الشرق محمود حسن

³ Ms. has, با سواران جزاره : Elliot has, "with some light horse"

⁴ Ms. has, بھوہر

⁵ Ms. has, چانرہار, Badauni ; The river Chinab is meant.

In Ms. ٹیلہر, Tabakat-i-Akbari has Thankar; Badauni ٹیلہر; Firishta, Beosul. (mod. Bisanli, a town in Kashmir State, Punjab : situate on the Ravi).

⁷ Ms. reads, دای بھیم

⁸ شرف پادشہ مشرف گشت

⁹ پشرا شدہ

who had sought refuge there. Safely and securely laden with booty, the Sultán, then found his way to Lahore.

In the month of Muharram, A. H. 825, (Jany. 1421) the shade of the blessed fortune and the shadow of the Imperial umbrella of the Sultán¹ fell upon the deserted city of Lahore, which was bereft of any living soul, save the inauspicious owls which had made it their abode. After a time, the Sultán turned his attention to the restoration of the city², and under his royal favour building was reconstructed. He stayed there encamped by the side of Rávi for nearly a month, engaged in repairing the fort and the gates. When the repair work was brought to a completion, the fief of Lahore was bestowed upon Mahmud Hasan, and a contingent of a thousand horses³ was placed under him. Having made suitable arrangements for the upkeep of the army and the fort His Majesty returned to Delhi.⁴

In Jamadi-ul-auwal⁵ of the aforesaid year, (825 A. H.) Jasrath's advance against Lahore and his defeats. Jasrath Shaikhá crossed the Jánhavá and the Rávi with a large body of infantry and cavalry and proceeding to Lahore⁶ encamped near the tomb of Saiku-l Mushaikh Shaikh Hasan Zanjání. On the 11th Jamádi-ul-ákhir, the two forces opposed each other in the mud fort(?). By the grace of God and the prosperity of the Emperor the refuge of the world, Jasrath was overthrown⁷. The triumphant army, in pursuit of the fugitives, issued out of the mud fort, but did not advance very far, so that the contestants kept to their respective position. Next day,

¹ سایه همایون دولت و ظل چتر سلطنت خداوند عالم پناه

² بعد مدتی معلوم روی به آبادانی آورده

³ In Elliot (IV. 56) 2,000 horses ;

⁴ پرتو خرد بدولت طرف دارالملک دهلی باز گشت etc.

⁵ In Elliot Jamadi-ul ákhir.

⁶ شهر میمنه مبارک باد لاهور. The "happy city" of Lahore was called *Mubārakābād* after its restorer the Sultán.

⁷ بعد پنج ماه جسرت ... لاهور در امیر ... نایک ماه هر روز بقصد ... رفتن شهر را حمله میگرد و آخر الامر به مقصد نرسیده باز گشت ...

Jasrath sacked all those places¹. Being powerless, ² Jasrath ran towards the Ráví on the 16th of the aforesaid month, collected the wise men of the spot, and fell back one *kuroh* off Lahore. On the 21st of the month an engagement took place in the mud fort, when the Royalists came out victorious, and gave chase to the retiring force. Jasrath returned to his army.³ In this way did the battle continue outside the fort for a month and five days, but at last Jasrath losing his heart made off towards Kálánor.⁴ Rái Bhím, who had come to the fort of Kálánor for rendering aid to the royal forces, excited the enmity of Jasrath (against him),⁵ and when the latter approached Kálánor, fighting went on between them but neither side could claim a victory: Ultimately peace, was declared in the month of Ramzán. Jasrath then retired to the banks of the Biyáh in order to mobilise his forces from the Khokbars who had been friendly to him. Sikandar Tuhfá now arrived (from Delhi) with an innumerable army at the ford of Búhí⁶ to join forces with Malik Mahmúd Hasan, who had been deputed before by the Emperor against Jasrath. Failing in constant persistence,⁷ Jasrath fled across the Ráví and Jánháva with his followers, and proceeded to the hills of Telhar.⁸ Maliku-sh-Shark Sikandar crossed the Biyáh at the ford of Búhí, and on the 12th Shawwál, he arrived at Láhor. Malik Mahmúd Hasan met him at a distance of three *kuroh* outside the fort. P. 281.

Previous to this, Malik Rajab, Amír of Dípálpur,* Malik Sultán Sháh Lodi, Amír of Sirhind, and Rái Fíroz Mian joined

¹ Elliot reads, "Jasrath held his ground". The Text runs—*روز دیگر جسرته*
مذکور ہما نجا ناخت

² *فردست*

³ This line is not clear. It runs, *جسرته مذکور باز گشت ہم در پورہ خویش نزل کرد*

⁴ On the Kírrán, in the Guradaspur, district Punjab.

⁵ Jasrath attacked Rái Bhim for having betrayed his retreat to the King.

⁶ Badauni says Puhí (پوهی)

⁷ طاعت مقاومت نبود

⁸ Badauni says Tilwára.

* Dípálpur (Dibálpur, Debálpur) in Montgomery, district Punjab, 30° 40' N, 78° 32' E, a place of historical importance, and identified by Cunningham with Daidala of Ptolemy.

Malik Sikandar. The victorious army (of Sikandar Tuhfá) proceeded along the Ráví, and forded that river between Kálánor and the town of Bhoḥ.¹ On reaching the frontiers of Jammú they were joined by Rái Bhím. Afterwards some of the Khokhars who fell asunder from Jasrath at the bank of Janhává were worsted, and the royal army retraced their way to the happy city Mubárakábád. His Majesty issued firmáns² that, Maliku-sh-Shark Mahmúd Hasan should go to the fief of Jálandhar, and having got ready³ (his followers), should return and join him. Malik Sikandar⁴ was entrusted with the civil administration of the auspicious city, and in obedience to the royal mandate, he proceeded with an army to the fort. The Emperor having recalled Mahmúd Hasan and the other *Amírs*, removed Malik Sikandar from the *vizirate* and appointed Maliku-sh-Shark Sarwar-ul-Mulk in his stead as the governor of the city. The son of the latter succeeded him in the office of governor.

In the year 826, A.H. (A.D. 1423) His Majesty, the refuge of the world, drew up his forces and resolved upon marching against Hindustan. In the month of Muharram he entered the territory of Katehr,⁵ and exacted revenue and taxes. Meanwhile, Muhábát Khán, *Amér* of Badáyun⁶ who

¹ Ms. reads بهر.

² فرمان محالی همایون

³ مستعد شده

⁴ ملك سكندر بتهانه شهر میمون نگاهدار

⁵ In the early Muhammadan period the tract now known as Rohilkhand or the Bareilly Division of the United Provinces, was called Katehr. It was named after their inhabitants, the Katehriyá Rajputs who, as the tribal traditions point out, came from Benares or Tirhoot, in the 13th and 14th centuries.

⁶ Badáyun or Badann, is a district in the United Provinces. It became an important post in the northern boundary of the Sultanate of Delhi, and its governors were chosen from distinguished soldiers who had constantly to face revolts of the turbulent Katehriya Rajputs. Acc. to Firishta it was Muhábát Khán who had been entrusted with a commission against the tribe of Rathore Rajputs.

had been in great fear of the late Emperor, Khizr Khán¹ May his tomb be sanctified! was honoured with an interview and special favours. The Sultán then crossed the Ganges and ravaged the territory of the Rathors;² putting a large number of the turbulent infidels to the sword. For sometime the Imperialists encamped on the Ganges, and then His Majesty left Mubáraz, Zirak Khán and Kamál Khán with a detachment at the fort of Kampila³ to suppress the Rathors. The son of Rái Sabír who had joined His Majesty, and had moved about in his suite, now took alarm and went off. Malik Khair-ud-dín Khán⁴ was sent after him with a vast army, but he failed to overtake the refugee. Khair-ud-dín, however, laid waste the territory (of the Rái) and descended upon Etawah. The Sultán, too, with successive marches led his army to Etawah, where the turbulent infidel had thrown himself into the fort. The son of Rái Sabír being worn out submitted at last, and promised to pay him as of old revenue, and also to render him services.⁵ The Sultán returned victorious to Delhi in Jamádi-ul-ákhír, 826 A.H. From Jálándhar came Malik Mahmud Hasan with a large body of followers to wait upon His Majesty, and he was received with great distinction. The office of 'Ariz Mamálik⁶ was taken from Malik Khair-ud-dín Khán and given to Mahmud Hasan. Worthy, righteous and trustworthy, Mahmud Hasan assiduously took to the affairs of the State, and his dignity was

P 234

¹ Badauni says, مهات خان بدارني کہ باحضر خان باغي شدہ برد

² Badauni writes در فرامی کہور عرف شمسباد ولایت پنواران (؟ راتھوران) , انانخت

³ In Farukkhábád district, United Provinces, 27° 35' N. 79° 14' E. In Mahabharat, capital of South Panchala, under King Drupada.

⁴ Ms. reads ملک الشرق ملک خیرالدین خانی

⁵ Firishita says "the Rajas son was delivered as a hostage for his father's future good conduct into the kings' hands".

⁶ Ms. has عہدہ عارض ممالک : 'Ariz Mamálik is the officer through whom petitions are presented to the Sultan : Elliot has "Pay Master of the Forces", Firishita, "Bukshy of the forces".

in the increase. In Jamádi-ul-awal of this same year, a battle

**Battle between
Jasrath and Rai
Bhim; the latter
slain.**

was fought between Jasrath and Rái Bhim, in which the latter was slain, and a large number of his horses and arms fell a prey to Jasrath. On ascertaining the death of the Rái, the victor united

a small force of the Mughals with his own¹, and sacked Dipálpur and Lahore. Malik Sikandar who was on the alert immediately ran after Jasrath, and the latter retreating crossed the Jánháva. Meanwhile news arrived of the death of Malik 'Alá-ul-Mulk, *Amír* of Multán.

It was rumoured that, Shaikh 'Alí², the vice-regent of the

**The invasion of
Shaikh 'Ali, the
Mughal.**

prince, the son of Sar 'atmash³ was moving forward with a large army to make an incursion into Bhakkar⁴ and Siwistán. To stem the tide of Mughal

invasion and suppress the outbreak, His Majesty placed the districts of Multan and Siwistán under the charge of Maliku-sh Shark Malik Mahmud Hasan, and sent him with a big army, and with all his family and dependents to Multan. Reaching Multan he restored order among the populace, and bestowed upon each of them suitable rewards, pensions and allowances. The people of the place preserved a tranquil mind and became happy; the inhabitants of the city and the country led a quiet and secure existence. Mahmud Hasan renovated the fortress at Multan that

¹ *ماخیش* copyist's error for *باخیش*: Firishta says "Jasrath formed an alliance with "Ameer Shaikh Ally, a Mughal chieftain in the service of Sharokh Mirza, governor of Kabul."

² The Ms. runs—*شیخ علی نایب امیرزادہ پسر سرتمش*
Jasrath raised an army of 12,000 Gukkurs.

³ Firishta is of opinion that Shaikh Ali was prevailed upon to make the incursion by way of creating a diversion, in order that, by drawing off the King's forces from the capital, for the defence of Sindh, his own views on Delhi might be facilitated.

Badauni makes no mention of Shaikh Ali's invasion.

⁴ In Dera Ismail, district Panjab: situated on the left bank of the Indus; Lat. 31° 37' 43", Long. 71° 5' 52".

had been damaged in the struggles with the Mughals, and assembled an army around him.

In the meantime news came to His Majesty that, Alb Khán, Amír of Dhar had led his army to Gwalior.¹ The Sultān hastened thither with a big army, and on his reaching the district of Bayána,* the son of Auhad Khán², Amír of Bayána

The Sultan proceeded to Gwalior against Alb Khan.

who having assassinated Mubarak Khán his paternal uncle raised the banner of insurrection, laid waste the fort of P. :

Bayána, and retired to the brow. The Emperor struck his camp at the base of the hill, and after a time, being hard pressed the rebel paid his revenue and tribute, and put his neck into the collar of obedience. The King then moved towards Gwalior against Alb Khán.† This chief

The unsuccessful revolt of the Amír of Bayana.

had secured the (usual) fords of the Chambal,³ and the royal army passed over the said stream by another (new) ford, Malik Mahmud Hasan and sundry other nobles, and the Mewattis,⁴ and Nusrat Khán who were the

¹ Alb Khán حاكم دهلي بقصد تنبيه راي گواليار وعزم :- (291) Badanni writes (291) Firishhta calls him Sultan Hooshung of Malwa.

² Ameer Khán, the son of Wahid Khán, governor of Bayána. (Firishhta).

* Bayána or Biána, in Bharatpur State, Rajputana and 50 miles south-west of Agra.

† Tabakat-i-Akbari has Alf Khán and Alaf Khán. Both are errors, for Ulugh Khán.

³ Ms. reads— البغان كناره آب چيكنى (؟) كدرها كرتنه فرود آمده برد

⁴ Ms. has ميران : Mewat, an ill-defined tract lying south of Delhi, include the Br. districts of Muttra, Gurgaon, most of the Alwar and a little of Bharatpur states. It takes its name from the Meos, who appear to have been originally same as the *Minda*s of Rajputana. The origin of the name "Meo" is disputed, some deriving it from Mewat, which is said to be the Sanskrit *Mind-vatī*, rich in fish; while the Meos derive it from *Maheo*, a word used in driving cattle. Throughout the period of Muhammadan rule the Meos were the Ishmaelites of their own country and of the upper Doab, and harried again and again by the Kings of Delhi from 1259 to 1527. During the troubled times of Timur's invasion, Bahádur Náhar founded the subdivision of the Mewattis called *Khánzáda*s, members of which for many years ruled Mewat. Imp. Gazz. U. P. I. 223. The Ms. reads— احمد حسن و بعضي امرا ديگر چنانچه ميران و نصرت خان There should be a, after ديگر (امرا) instead of چنانچه

heads of the victorious army with their horse and foot,¹ plundered the baggage of Alb Khán, and brought many of his men, horse and foot back as prisoners. Taking into account that both parties were Musalmans, His Majesty spared the prisoners' lives and set them free. Next day Alb Khán despatched envoys to make overtures to the King. Learning that Alb Khán was reduced to a state of weakness and compulsion, and disapproving any further design (of hostility) against his co-religionists, the Sultán consented to make peace on condition of Alb Khán sending in tribute and retiring from Gwalior. On the following day Alb Khán forwarded his gifts to the Emperor and turned his way towards Dhar. The King stationed himself for sometime on the banks of the Chambal, levying contributions upon the infidels according to old custom, after which he safely returned to his capital, laden with booty, in Rajab 827 A.H. (June 1423) and took to administration.

In the month of Muharram, 828 A.H.,² (November 1424) the Sultán moved towards Katehr. When he reached the banks of the Ganges, Har Singh³ joined the Sultán and was honoured with great compassion, but as he had put off paying his quota of tribute for three years, he was detained for a few days...⁴ In short, the royal forces went across the Ganges, took the rebels of those parts to task, and continued their progress to the hills of Kumáyun. Here they halted for sometime, but when the weather became sultry they retired homewards along the banks of the Rahab.⁵ Crossing the Ganges near Kampil they made for Kanauj, but owing to a severe famine having broken out in the cities of Hindustán, the Imperialists moved no further.

Sultan's 2nd expeditions to Katehr and Mewat.

but as he had put off paying his quota of tribute for three years, he was detained for a few days...⁴ In short, the royal forces went across the Ganges, took the rebels of those parts to task, and continued their progress to the hills of Kumáyun. Here they halted for sometime, but when the weather became sultry they retired homewards along the banks of the Rahab.⁵ Crossing the Ganges near Kampil they made for Kanauj, but owing to a severe famine having broken out in the cities of Hindustán, the Imperialists moved no further.

¹ پیاده : an error for پیاده :

² Badauni says 827 A. H. سبع و عشرين و ثمانمائة

³ Firishta says Nursingh.

⁴ Here the Ms. is illegible, eaten up by worms.

⁵ Ms. reads آب رهپ

Informations relating to the insurrection of the Mewáttis reaching the Sultán, he set out with successive marches against Mewát, and carried fire and sword through their country. The Mewáttis deserted their country and took refuge in Jahra, their *point-d' appui*. This retreat being invulnerable and the provisions running short, the Sultán laden with booty, retired to his capital where he arrived in the month of Rajab. The Amírs and Máliks were permitted leave, and His Majesty abandoned himself to amusement and pleasure.

The following year, 829 A. H. (November 1425) the Sultán proceeded to Mewát, when Jallu and Kaddū,¹ grandsons of Bahádur Náhir, and several Mewáttis who had co-operated with them having laid waste their own territories, retreated to the hills of

Andwar. After a seige lasting for several days when the Imperialists pressed hard, the beseiged evacuated Andwar and made off to the mountains of Alwar.² The Emperor levelled the fort of Andwar in the dust, and hastened to Alwar. On his approach, Jallu and Kaddū shut themselves in the fort, and the victorious army followed them.³

Being reduced to a state of deep depression, they begged for mercy and were granted with quarter.⁴ * Subsequently, Kaddu

¹ چلو و کدو, for Julal and Kuddar, to which "Khan" was usually suffixed. In Firishta we get Jullu and Kudroo. Badauni gives no name. The second should be omitted after چلو و کدو in the line نیسگان بہادر ناہر, as its existence would imply the existence of the grandsons of Bahadur Nahir other than Jallu and Kaddu.

² Alwar or Ulwar, in Rajputana, bet. lat. 27° 4' 28' 13' and long. 76° 7' — 77° 14'.

³ The Ms. has لسكر منصور متواتر دھروہ (P) کرد. Firishta is more precise when he says, "the grandsons of Bahadur Nahir, retreated to the hills of Alwar, and defended the passes with much obstinacy."

⁴ Tabakat-i-Akbari and Firishta relate that they (Jallu and Kaddu) were imprisoned.

* In Elliot (pp. 62-63) the portions that follow have been taken from *Tabakat-i-Akbari* as the pages of the Ms. used by Elliot were lost at this place. But the Ms. which is at our disposal is here intact.

was exalted with the eminence of being permitted to kiss the feet (of His Majesty), but as he was on the point of running away towards the mountains he was captured and committed to custody. The powerful lord and the centre of the universe¹ ravaged Mewat, and for a time took up his quarters there, but owing to the outbreak of famine in that country he retraced his steps to Delhi where he arrived in the month of Sha'aban.

Next year, in Muharram, 830 A. H. the King proceeded to

The Sultan to Bayána, and coerced the Mewattis on the Bayana via Mewat: submission of Muhammad Khan: Bayana conferred upon Mukbil.

Bayána, and coerced the Mewattis on the way. Muhammad Khán, son of Auhad Khán Amír of Bayána, shut himself up in the fort. He destroyed the city, retired to the fortress situated on the summit of the mountains, and held out for sixteen days². On the 2nd Rabī'ul-ákhir the royalist faced Muhammad Khán; accompanied by his numerous army and the notable veterans, the Sultán made an ascent on the hill by a pathway situated in its rear. Getting wind of this (incident), the son of Auhad Khán lost his power of resistance and went *hors de combat* inside the fortress.³ Discerning his rank unsteady and the fortress in confusion, Muhammad Khán gave up offering resistance and having come outside his strongholds with a turban round his neck kissed the dust.⁴ The Sultán, the centre of the universe and the just, promised him safety, the Khán (in return) offered whatever hard cash, valuable goods, arms, furnitures and cattle he had stored in the fort to the victor⁵ who remained there for a few days (more). By the order of the Sultán the family and dependants of Muhammad Khán were taken out of the fort,

¹ خدایگان گیتی مدار

² The word "كه" should be omitted from - بقرت كه بالشكر منصور معاربه ميگرد -

³ Firishta relates that owing to the desertion of part of the garrison, Muhammad Khán had to surrender.

⁴ دست و پاي كم كرده بقروات دستار در كلو (?) انداخته و پاي: از سر سلخته از درون
درون امده بشرف خاكديوس مشرف گشت

Firishta states, "with a rope about his neck (he) was led into the royal presence."

⁵ The Ms. reads: - آنچه از جنس نقره و نفايس اسباب و اسلحه و رخت و كار درون قلعه -
داشت برچه نعل بها (?) اسپان لشكر منصور پيش گزرايد -

despatched to Delhi and allowed to live in the palace of *Jahán-numah*. The charge of the fief of Bayána was handed over to Mukbil Khán, a slave of the Sultán, and the viceregency of *pergannah* Sikri¹ was vested on Malik Khair-ud-din Tuhfa.

His Majesty then proceeded to Gwalior. On his arrival the Sultan the Rái of Gwalior, Bhangar² and marched against Chandawar made their submission and Gwalior and accepted submission paid tribute according to old rule. At sion of its Rai. the desire of his friends the Sultán safely

returned to Delhi, laden with booty and reached his palace in the month of Jamadi-ul-akhir³. He then, took the fief of Multan⁴ from Mahmud Hasan, giving him charge of Hisar Firozá and transferring Multan to Maliku-sh Shark Rajab Nádrab. Shortly after, Muhammad Khán seceded from the Sultan, and effected his escape to Mewat with his wife and children. Some of his attendants who had been dispersed rejoined him. It transpired that Malik Mukbil had set out with his whole force for Maháwan⁵, leaving Malik Khair-ud-din Tuhfa in the fort and the *khittah* of Bayána (empty of soldiers). Reposing trust in the inhabitants and the chiefs of (that) country,⁶ (Muhammad Khán) went to Bayána with a small force, when he was joined by the people of the *khittah* and the country. Subsequently, the fort (Bayána) capitulated and the soldiers that

¹ Later became known as Fatehpur; now a district in the Allahabad Division, United Provinces, lying between 25° 25' and 26° 16' N. and 80° 14' and 81° 20' E. According to tradition, the Rájás of Argal held a large part of the district as tributaries of the Kansuj Kingdom before the Muhammadan conquest. Nothing definite is known of the history of the district during the early Muhammadan period when it formed a part of the Kingdom of Kora.

² Ms. has *تهنگیر*: Bhangar may be identified with Bhangerh, in Ulwar State, Rajputana, 38 miles south-west from Ulwar. Lat. 27° 7', Long. 76° 22'.

³ In Elliot, Jamadi-ul-auwal.

⁴ The copyist has omitted "ملتان" after "قطاع". The line would then read as *قطاع ملتان از ملك الشرق ملك محمود حسن تعزيل شد*.

⁵ Mod. Mahaban, in Muttra, district United Provinces, near the left bank of the Jumna 27° 27' N. and 77° 45' E.

⁶ *براعتباد (?) سكان خطه و مقدمان ولايت*.

had been stationed there were withdrawn to Delhi. The Emperor¹ took Bayána from Malik Mukbil, and entrusted it to Malik Mubáriz with orders to suppress the rebellion of Muhammad Khán. At the advent of the Imperialists, the rebel retired into the fort, and Malick Mubáriz took possession of Bayána and its adjacent countries. Entrusting the defence of the place to some of his followers, Muhammad Khán ran away to join Sultán Ibráhim Sharkí.² The Sultán summoned Malik Mubáriz to his presence to account for the escape of Muhammad Khán,³ and in the month of Muharram, 831 A. H., he ordered his army off to Bayána.

On the way, there came an epistle from Kádír Khán, the ruler of Kalpi⁴, communicating the approach of Sharkí, at which the powerful lord and the centre of the universe made a change of front and went out to meet

**The Sultan to
Kalpi against
Ibrahim Sharki.**

the invader. It got wind that Sharkí having laid waste *Bhau-Kánún*⁵ was working his way to Badáyun. The Sultan⁶ forded the Jaun (Jamuna) at Nuh-Patal, sacked Harolí⁷ and from thence he led his army to Atrolí⁸.

243.

It now reached the ears of the Emperor⁹ that, Mukhtass Khán,¹⁰ brother of Sharkí had arrived at Etawah with a large contingent and numerous elephants. Upon this the King described from the main body Mahmud Hasan¹¹ with 10,000 brave and experienced horsemen and sent

**Advent of
Mukhtass Khan
and his defeat.**

¹ خداوند عالم

² Sharki was at that time advancing with an army against Kalpi.

³ Ms. runs—مملك مبارز را نیز برای مصلحتی (?) در حضرت طلب شد we have adopted

Elliot.

⁴ In Jálau district United Provinces. Lat 26° 8' N. and Long. 79° 45' E.

⁵ Ms. reads. بهیو کانون ; Badauni has بهیو کانون ; Elliot Bhūkānū.

⁶ حضرت اعلی

⁷ Ms. reads چترلی ; Badauni, چترلی.

⁸ In Aligarh, district United Provinces ; Elliot's translation from *Tabakat-i-*

Akbari here ends.

⁹ بندگان را یات اعلی

¹⁰ Elliot calls him Mekhlis khán ;

¹¹ ملك الشرق محمود حسنی

him against Mukhtass Khán. Mahmud Hasan and his battalion descended upon the place where the army of Sharkí had pitched their camps. When the Khán was apprised of this news he fell back on his brother, but Mahmud Hasan halted there for sometime more with the object of making a night attack upon the adversaries. As the latter were on the look-out, he returned and rejoined the Delhi army. Sharkí, too, advanced along the banks of *Abi-siyáh*¹ to Burhanábád, in district Etawa. To meet his enemy, the Sultán evacuated Atroli and pitched his P 244 camp at Mabin Kotáh,² where the belligerents remained only a short distance apart. Discerning the valour of the Emperor, and the strength and vastness of his army, Sharkí retired to Rapri³ in the month of Jamadi-ul awal. There he crossed the Jamuna at Gudrang⁴, and marching on towards Bayána, he encamped on the river of Katehr⁵. In pursuit of the retreating force, the powerful lord and the centre of the universe, crossed the Jamuna with successive marches at Chandawár and halted at a distance of four *kuroh* from the enemy. The vanguard of the Imperial army made constant raids upon their opponents, carrying off prisoners, cattle and baggage. This state of things continued for twenty days, the belligerents remaining at a short distance from each other. Drawing out his equipage, footmen and cavalry Sharkí presented a bold front on the 17th Jamadin-ul ákhir.⁶ His Majesty, Maliku-sh-shark Sarwarul Mulk the vazir, Sayyadu-s-Sádát Sayyad Sálím and several other prominent chiefs remained in the camp in safety, while some others were

¹ Badauni has *آب سیاه عرب کالی* پانی ; Firishta, Kaly Nye, referring to Káli Nadi, properly Kálindi, a river in United Provinces, rising in Muzaffarnagar.

² Ms. has *مابین کتہ* : Badauni simply *کتہ* : Firishta Malykota ; Tabakat-i-Akbari, Máli Koná and Elliot Páyin Kotáh.

³ Firishta says Rabery Rápri, in Shikohábád *tahsil* of Mainpuri district, United Provinces has always been important as commanding one of the crossings of the Jumna.

⁴ Ms. reads *کڑک*

⁵ Ms. *آب کیتھر* Badauni has *آب کیتھر* :

⁶ Ms. reads *هفتم ماه* ; Elliot has 17th : Firishta says 17th Jamadin-ul-ághir.

- sent against the enemy, such as, Maliku-s-shark Malik Mahmud Hassan, Khán-i-'Azam Fátih Khán, son of Sultán Muzaffar, Mazlis-i-'álá Zirak Khán, Maliku-s-shark Malik Sultán Sháh who received of late the title of Islám Khán, Malik Jaman, the grandson of Khán-i-Jahán, Malik Kálú Khanī master of elephants, Malik Ahmad Tuhfá and Malik Mukbil Khán. The action commenced at noon and continued till sun-down, and when night fell¹ the combatants withdrew to their respective encampments. Neither side retreating, fighting continued till end². There were many wounded on the side of Sharkī, so that when on the next day he saw the strength of the royal forces, he marched off towards the Jamuna. On the 17th Jamadi-ul ákhir he forded (the river) at Gudrang, made his way to Rápri and from thence retraced his steps to his own country. The
46. Emperor pursued him to Gudrang, but the contending party being Muhammadan, he refrained himself from any further chase. He then took his way to Hath Kant,³ and after exacting customary tribute from the Rái of Gwalior and the other Ráis, moved in the direction of Bayána along the course of the Chambal. Mahmud
- The Sultan to Gwalior and Bayana.**

Khán Auhadi who had befriended Sharkī, being frightened out of his wits shut himself up in the fortress situated at the summit of the hill. The Emperor laid seige to the fortress that was excessively lofty and most impregnable. Nevertheless it was due to the prosperity of His Majesty, the centre of the universe, that the low born tribe suffered losses and their vanity disappeared before the (royal) punishment;⁴ their hands were powerless against the assailants and their feet unable to flee. The seige, thus, continued for a week ; at length they allowed

¹ The author here indulges in a verbose style :— میهن یکدیگر مقاتله و معاربه از :— نیم روز تارقت شام هم درین قتل (?) بودند که سلطان سپهر از اتحادیت نیم روز درحدود شام تاخت و بمنزل عین حمیه (?) عن نزل و اذیت جهان روشن در چشمها تارک نمود ان وقت برسات مقامت بازی قایم ماند

² Ms. reads : دشمنان : Badauni has : استگانه : Firishta Hulkant ; Elliot Hathkant.

⁴ Ms. has, از ایشان از آتش قهر لشکر منصور فرو نشست

the invaders to claim the victory and sought for mercy. Full of clemency and pity for the Musalmans, the Sultán forebore to punish Muhammad Khán and granted him forgiveness; firmáns were issued to the soldiery ordering them to evacuate the fort.

On the 26th Rajáb, His Majesty marched out with his attendants and went off towards Mewat. **The Sultan** to attendants and went off towards Mewat.

He remained there for sometime to set in order the wasted city, and with a view to the administration and upkeep of the district of Bayána he appointed as its governor Malik Mahmud Hasan, who had exhibited bravery and loyalty in the government and the defence of the frontiers, and was successful in the accomplishment of many great duties. He had, thus, signalised the opening years of the Sultan's rule¹ by waging a war against Jasrath Khokhar; (again) when he held the command at Lahore he had made a stand against the prince-deputy of the Sultán of Khorassan,² and hindered him from making an ingress to Multan. He was now appointed as the commandant of the fort of Bayána with its adjoining territories. The *itka*' of Bayána and all its dependencies were placed under his control.

At the desire of his well-wishers His Majesty worked homewards along the bank of the Jaun **The Sultan's** wards along the bank of the Jaun return to Delhi. (Jamuna), and reaching the capital on the 15th Sha'abán 831 A. H., (May 29, 1427 A.D.) took up his residence in Sírí. Then he bade farewell to the *Amíra* and *Málíks* to their fiefs, and gave himself up to pleasure and merry-making.

¹ The text is faulty. چنانچه در مبران جلوس با جسرتند
میراء جلوس should be شیخا محاربه کرده

² با شیخ زاده نایب شاهزاده خراسان We have adopted Elliot: The personage referred to is the general of Shah Rukh.

V.—Cup-marked Stones near Rajgir (with Plates.)

By Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri, M.A., Ph. D. (Oxon.)

In December 1916, Mr. Jackson was walking from Pātharkāṭi to Rājgir. He had gone to Pātharkāṭi to verify the following description by Buchanan in his Patna-Gaya Journal under the date 23rd November, 1811-12¹:

“Having examined these I visited the quarry on the hill called Jerra or Paterkati, situated about a mile south-westerly from Baliya. It is also very rugged, and consists in a great measure of granite, but its southern end is chiefly of the hornblende kind. The greater part is black potstone with a fine grain, and is so much impregnated with silicious hornstone that it has a conchoidal fracture². It is very hard and [is] used for making pestles and mortars. It is called merely Kalaputur or black stone. There is however a very fine quarry of [hornblende]³ consisting of large crystals,⁴ which is called Vishnupodi, because it was employed to erect the temple of that name at Gaya, and the workmen were brought from Jaynagar on purpose. There is no demand for this stone now, and the workmen are reduced to live by making cups, plates, etc. of the potstone, and mortar and pestles of that impregnated with silicious matter. Very fine masses of the pure hornblende may be procured, the silicious potstone is more intersected by fissures. The tradition at the quarry is that it was first wrought by Harchand Rajah, who built Rotas and dug the caves⁵ of Burabar, etc., and who finding

¹ Buchanan's Patna-Gaya Journal, edited by Jackson, 1925, pp. 23-4.

² Black potstone (kalapathar), hornstone impregnated with hornblende; Jackson, *ibid.*, p. 190.

³ Rock intermediate between granite and hornstone, *ibid.*, p. 191.

⁴ Hornblende, very fine, crystals large and distinct, does not take a fine polish: *ibid.*, p. 195.

⁵ Asoka does not claim to have excavated the caves but to have simply bestowed them on the Ājivikas (*dinā*): cf. Hultzsch, *C. I. I.*, vol. I, 1925, pp. 181-2.

the materials too hard desisted and sent his workmen to Alura (Ellora) in the south, where he dug very great works in the rocks."¹

From Pātharkāṭi to Rājgir, the distance is about 18 miles, from south-west to north-east. Mr. Jackson was proceeding across fields. About eight miles from Rājgir, at the foot of its south-western ridge,¹ near a place now called Mokhtargarh,² he noticed thousands of stones of a peculiar size and shape lying on the surface or half-buried in the ground. They were roughly conical, about 2 feet in width and 1½ feet in length with cup-like depressions artificially fashioned on 5, 6, sometimes 8 flat corners.³ The stone is black gneiss, like that used at Pātharkāṭi and resembling that of the Barabar hills. Both the colour and the grain were markedly different from the living rock of Rājgir, both of the neighbouring ridge and the main chain. It was getting dark and Mr. Jackson had no further opportunity of a closer inspection. An added difficulty lay in the inaccessibility of the spot except on foot.

In November 1926, I led a trip of the Archæological and Historical Society of the Patna College, on foot from Islampur to Rājgir. Following a zig-zag course across fields, we covered about 65 miles in 5 days. Our route was Islampur—Keur—Pātharkāṭi—Jethiān—Rājgir.⁴ I was specially instructed by Mr. Jackson, to look up the cup-marked stones and photograph them. There they lay near Mokhtargarh to the south and Natesa to the west—cf. the Bihar and Orissa District Maps, district of Patna, 1910, sheets⁵ no. 85 D.5. To the east was the ridge of Rājgir leading to the Jethiān valley. The stones lay over more than an acre of ground, about two furlongs from the nearest spur of the ridge. Examining the locality

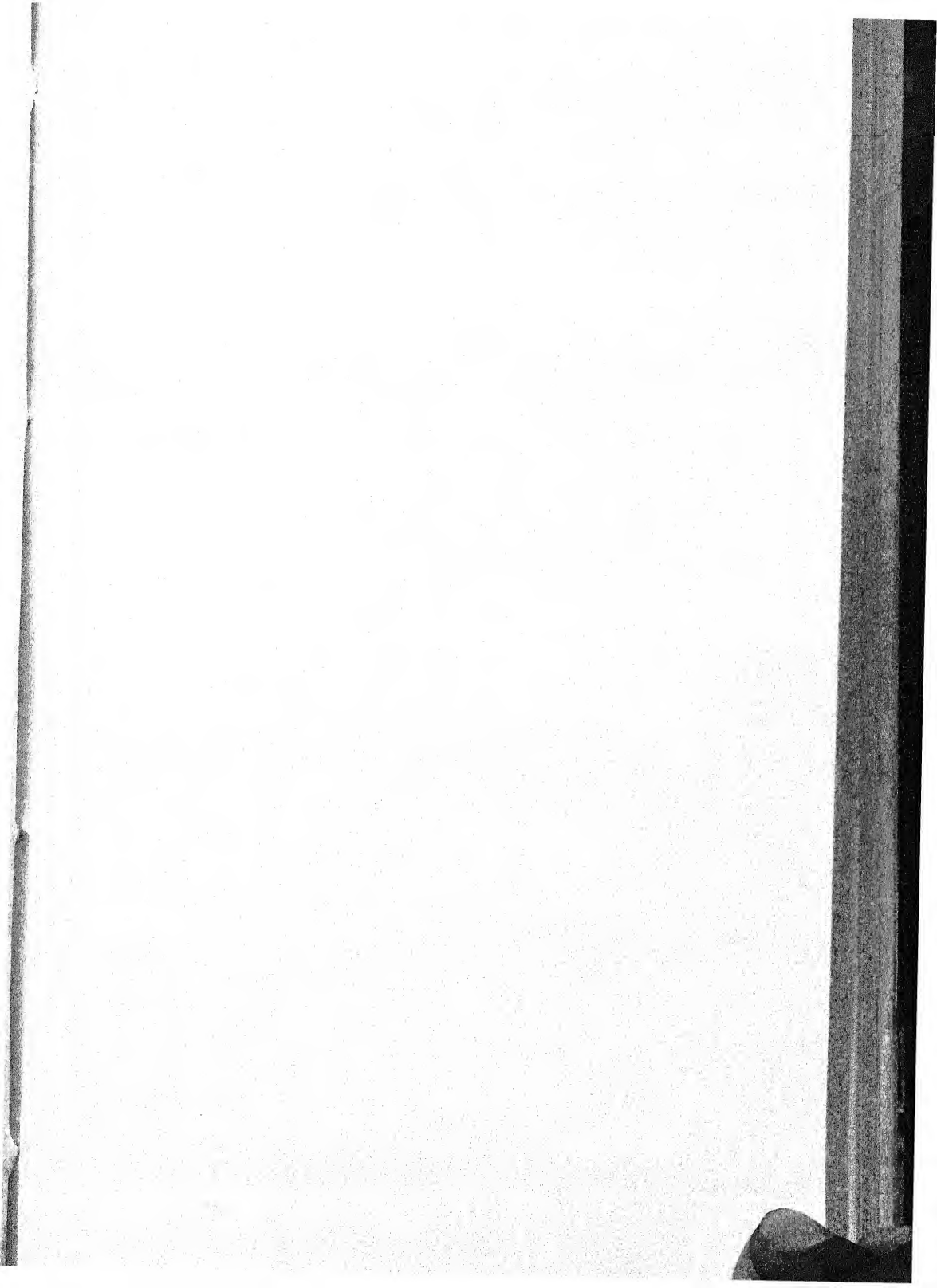
¹ Due north from the Jethiān Valley.

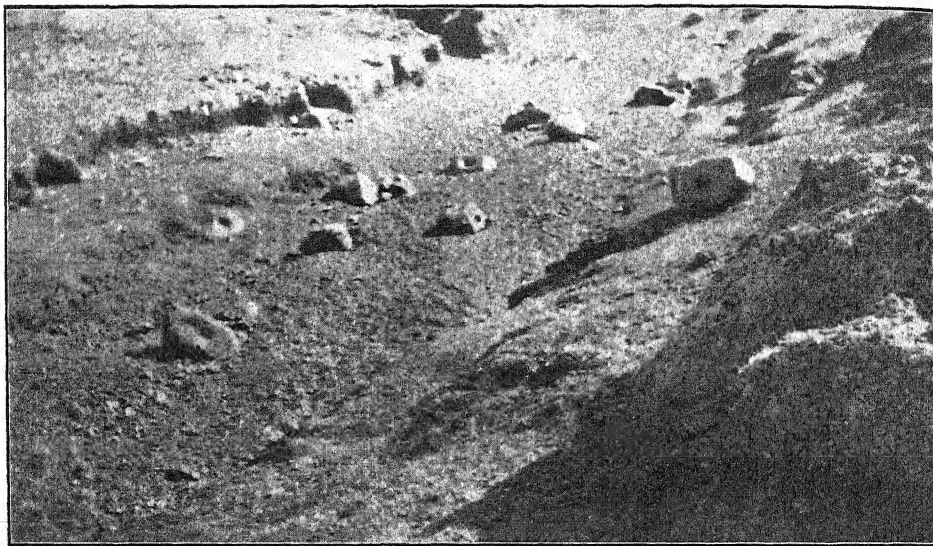
² A recent name after the owner, a Mokhtiar from Gaya.

³ Sometimes also in the middle or the sides, cf. plates.

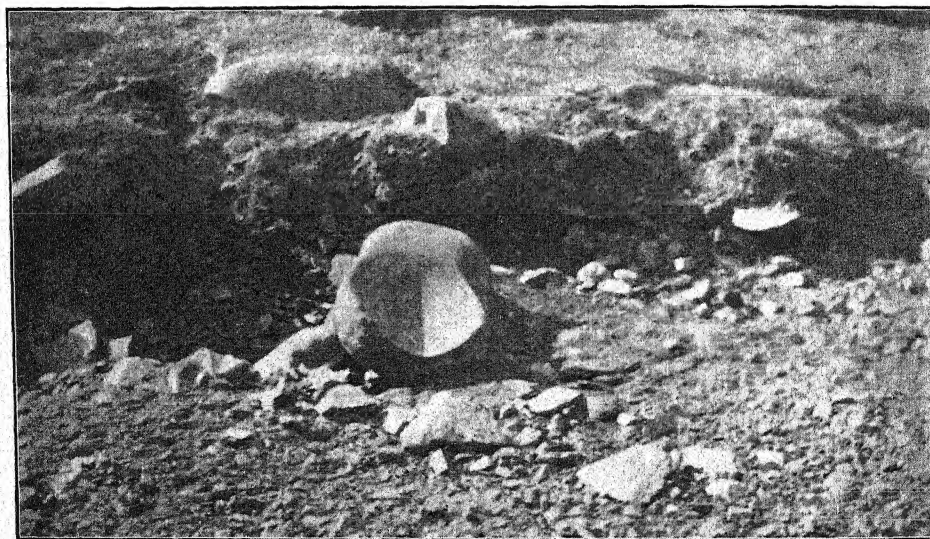
⁴ The whole connected area is full of remains of successive civilisations hardly noticed by anyone after Buchanan.

⁵ Survey maps, Bihar and Orissa, 1905-10. District of Patna.

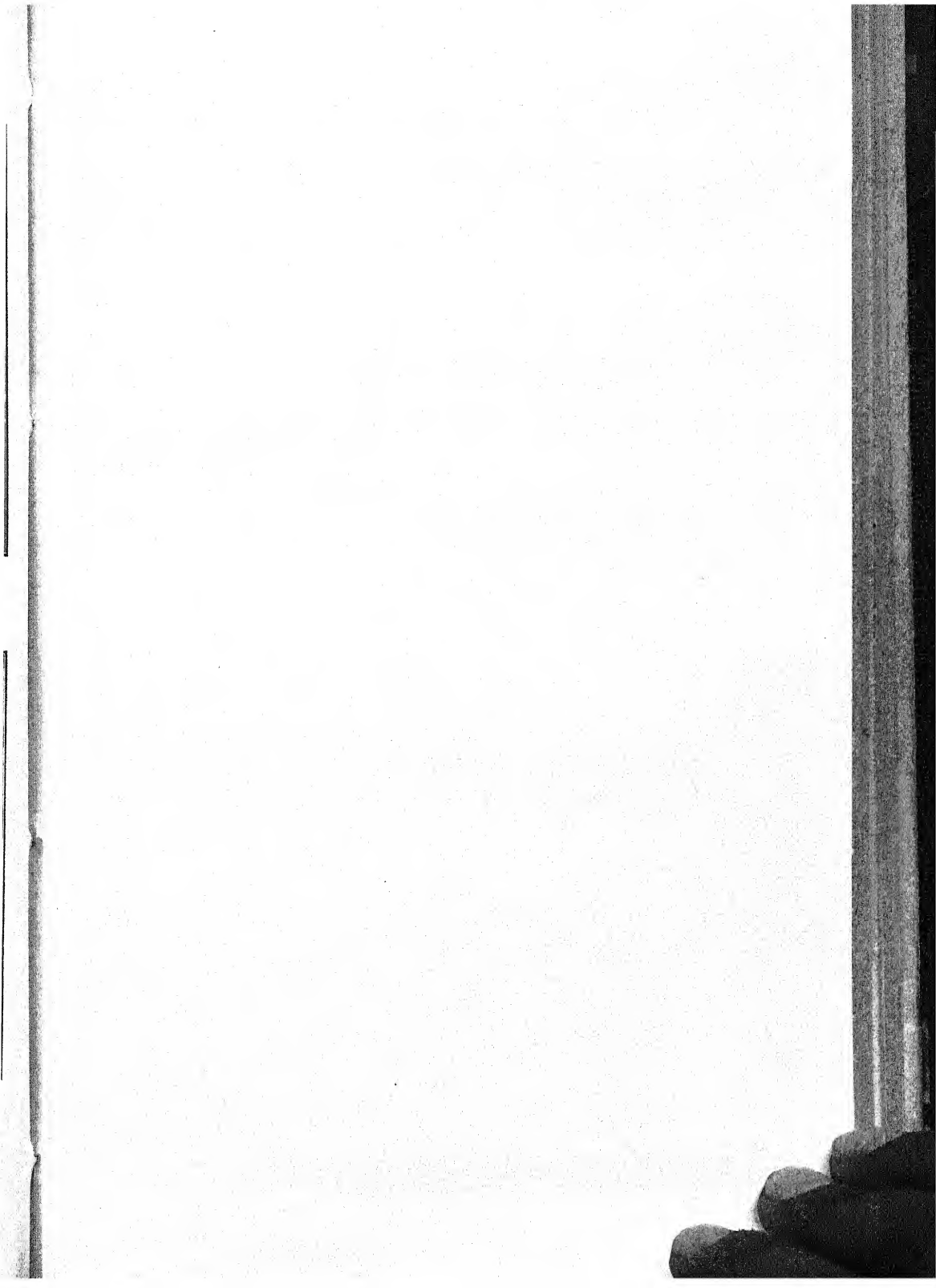




3. CUP-MARKED STONES IN WATER-COURSE.



4. STONE IN WATER-COURSE SHOWING LONG GROOVE.
(THE LINE ALONG CENTRE IS ONLY EDGE OF SHADOW.)



CHAKRA GHAT

DUKRI GHAT

BIBI JANGLO

NATESAR.

MOKHTARGAT



1. SITE OF SOBHANPUR, LOOKING S.E.



2. CUP-MARKED STONES NEAR BUCHANAN'S DUKRIGHAT.

further west I discovered a waterway and at a distance of another furlong, remarkable remains of an old settlement.¹ It consists of regular lines of stones showing the foundations and walls of buildings, all lying in clearly-marked rows, of rooms large and small, outer walls as well as inner passages. The size and arrangement of rooms and passages as well as the type of undressed stones used, are strongly reminiscent of the ruins of the pre-historic town of old Rajgir² inside the valley. This discovery roused the curiosity of Mr. Jackson and we both returned to Rajgir in December, 1926, prepared for a longer stay and visited the spot again. Mr. Jackson took some photographs of the cup-marked stones *in situ*, and they are reproduced in the accompanying plates. We measured and sketched the settlement—the outer walls lengthwise 220 feet, 209 feet wide : five large rooms at either end arranged lengthwise and six smaller ones in the middle : a parallel row of rooms east to west and a passage running the whole distance about 12 feet broad.³ It is on an elevated piece of hard ground, surrounded on three sides, west, south and north, by adjoining paddy fields. To the north, it is connected with the acre bearing the cup-marked stones, the intervening space being of a rocky soil, through which passes a waterway to-day evidently fed by rain water down the sides of the hills. Further north it touches the nearest spur and higher on, the ridge. Thus the whole space from the ridge to the settlement covering about five acres

¹ These stones, unlike the cup-marked stones, were evidently procured locally from the neighbouring ridge.

² Jackson, *Archaeol. Surv. Ind. Rep.* 1913-14, pp. 265-71.

³ For the arrangement of rooms passages, etc., and the general nature of the settlement ruins inside the valley, cf. the excellent plan prepared by Jackson, *A.S.R.*, *Ibid.*, p. 267. The earlier strata are clearly distinguishable from the later ones, themselves fairly ancient, by following old roads, cutting across older foundations. It should be remembered that nothing but surface explorations has yet been attempted at Rajgir. The undressed stones may not be of the earliest epoch ; cf. Ferry, *The children of the Sun*, p. 93 : "When the archaic civilisation broke up, not only were irrigation, stone-working and image-carving given up, but metal-working and mining were abandoned, and the land often given over to people who cared for none of these things."

is one continuation. Its rambling nature may be accounted for partly by the removal of cup-marked stones, once spread more symetrically. In a village named Sherpur, just to the southwest of the settlement we inspected a big well which had used up at least 500 of these stones and we were informed that neighbouring villages had also utilised them in the same way and some contractors had carted away thousands of them.¹ We got into the waterway and unearthed some potteries which clearly showed previous habitations at a depth of 5 feet and possibly lower down. We searched the whole locality for any other piece of dressed or artificial stone and discovered a solitary broken pestle, rather small about five inches in length and 2 inches in width. We spent another day ² in examining the neighbouring ridge for any vein of gold or remains or proof of gold-working at any time, for reasons given below. We found no such sign.

Later, with the help of the local landlord, we had three specimens of the cup-marked stones ³ carted direct to Patna. Two of them are now exhibited in the Patna Museum and the third is in the compound of the Principal of the Patna College.

What were these stones used for and who brought them there? We had a long discussion on the spot and later on in our tent far into the night.

Mr. Jackson was a scientist and suspicious of theories. Yet he admitted that a collection of facts was no more a science than a heap of stones could be called a house, and that a house was infinitely more useful and more agreeable than a heap of stones. As Bacon said, science is possible only on generalities. In a quest after the unknown, it is better to have an imperfect plan than no plan at all. In science, a hypothesis has always, even when false, the advantage of suggesting

¹ More damage to ancient Indian ruins has been done by these contractors and house-builders in ceaselessly removing and disposing of apparently unclaimed materials than by temporary vandalism of invaders and fanatics.

² The search was seriously hampered by a dense jungle which we could not penetrate at places. We however noticed a distinctive reddish tinge in the gravel.

³ They weigh between three to four maunds each. The more regular ones were naturally taken away for use in wells and structures.

researches and experiments, even though subsequently destroyed by these very researches and experiments, according to the inverse realization of the legend of Ugolin. Every good theory is a *coagulum* of logical thought and certain number of known facts. We then proceeded to think out the facts concerning the cup-marked stones.

(a) None in the neighbouring villages of Kamalpur, Natesar and Mokhtargarh had any idea about the origin of the stones, except that they lay there from time immemorial. Two of the oldest inhabitants of Natesar were slightly more definite about the deserted stone settlement. It was equally ancient, but associated with the name of king Rohtas, and formerly known as *Suvan-pur*. *Suvanpur* means a city of, or connected with, gold. It would suggest a settlement once occupied in gold-working.

(b) The neighbouring ridge joins the Sona-giri. Sona-giri means the rock containing gold. There is no shrine on this hill and yet important roads connected it on one side with the cup-marked stones area leading on to Jethiān and on the other to the Son-Bhāṇḍār cave.¹ The south wall is the highest. It often rises 30—40 feet above the level of the valley inside. Through three well-marked gaps run three ancient roads. The pilgrims road from Sona-giri to the Son-Bhāṇḍār cave now passes through one² probably representing a south-west gate leading towards Jethiān. Near the middle is another gap representing the principal gate of the city on the south. The third road can be traced from the Bangaṅgā opening in the hills, turning to the west round a spur of Sona-giri, cutting through it for some distance and then turning sharply to enter the old city. The west wall, as far as the Son Bhāṇḍār cave, has disappeared owing to the branch of the Sarasvati stream which runs from the south.

(c) Thus the Son-Bhāṇḍār cave had the peculiarity of being connected with the cup-marked stones area by easy roads

¹ Marshall, *A.S.R.*, 1905-06, pp. 86-106.

² Jackson, *A.S.R.*, 1913-14, pp. 268-9.

and of having a stream close by—necessary for both gold-digging and gold-washing. Son-Bhāṇḍār means the store of gold. Many unsavoury stories are still current as regards the evil effects of this persistent tradition.¹ Some latter-day gold-seeker is said to have used dynamite and blown up the cave and thus made the left-hand side window-like aperture.² More significant still is the dark passage to the right-hand top (higher up) of the passage³ which is claimed to reach the outer side, right through the interior of the solid rock. Even Beglar's cave with seven chambers⁴ (Sattapaṇṇi), later discredited as imaginary,⁵ begins to acquire a new meaning. The Rājpiṇḍ cave in Jethiān is credited with another such interior passage running right across the whole southern wall, vouchsafed by Hiuen-Tsiang himself.⁶ These passages remind one of Kunz's⁷ description of gold-working in North American mountains specially several caves in the mountain of the Pueblo region recently unearthed. "The wonder caves are about 25 ft. from the surface and run 100 ft. from the apex of the mountain, being about 30 by 25 ft. in width, and from 6 to 8 ft. in height about the debris... Here were found numerous veins of turquoise from $\frac{1}{8}$ in. to 2 in. in thickness and strips of gold-bearing quartz cover the walls of the central cave. It is presumed that further explorations would bring to light openings through these walls, showing that the entire mountain was honeycombed by the ancients..."⁷⁷ Quartz veins were worked for gold in the

¹ Mr. Russell discovered, in 1913, another cave contiguous to the Son-Bhāṇḍār and to its north. It is of the same design, and only part of the top arch of the inner wall is visible. The rest has fallen down and lies buried under rubbish and shrubs. It is said to have been damaged by some gold-seeker.

² Buchanan mistakenly thought it to be a part of the original plan, Jackson's Buchanan, *ibid.*, p. 137. An examination of the line from the top of the door to the top of this window and the hacked patches do not support this view.

³ The passage can be negotiated on all fours for about 15 yards.

⁴ Beglar, *A.S.R.* (Cunningham).

⁵ Marshall, *A.S.R.*, 1905-06, pp. 86-106.

⁶ Beal, *Records of the Western World*, vol. II, p. 149.

⁷ Kunz, *Gems and Precious Stones of North America*, i, 55-6.

same district. Lock¹ attests the same phenomenon in the gold-bearing mountains known as Los Cerillos.

(d) The distribution of gold-bearing areas in India is relevant and suggestive. Geologists have so far devoted more attention to river-gold than to rock-gold. Almost every province in India possesses these gold streams.² Ball³ refers to Walker's testimony that washing had been carried on comparatively recently in the streams which feed the Godavari from the South. He himself learnt that all the rivers of the Punjab, the Ravi alone excepted, contained cuneiferous sands.....the rivers and streams as a general rule contained gold.⁴ Watt⁵ notices the most striking feature of the gold deposits of the Assam valley as the universal distribution of the metal in extremely small percentages throughout the gravel of the river beds. Bloxam⁶ describes the process of extraction. The high specific gravity of gold being 19·3, it is left behind while the sand with a sp. gr. 2·6 is carried away by water. Wooden or metal bowls wherein sand is shaken up with water by hand, pouring off the light portions, leaving the grains of gold at the bottom of the vessel are the ordinary implements of this alluvial-washing or placer-digging.⁷

In his interesting sketch of the search for gold and pearls of a highly civilised archaic people and its relics among their degraded descendents, Perry⁸ notices the selected and prospected gold-producing tracts in India. His map⁹ recording gold in Chota Nagpur (Singhbhum, Dhalbhum, Manbhum) up to Hazaribagh is not exhaustive, so far as rock-gold is concerned. It is partly due to present-day indifference to any

¹ Lock, *Gold*, 179.

² Roscoe, *Chemistry*, vol. II, p. 338.

³ Ball, *Geology of India*, III, p. 188.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

⁵ Watt, *Commercial Products of India*, p. 566.

⁶ Bloxam, *Inorganic Chemistry*, p. 404.

⁷ Contrast the method applied in the Tri valley in Pahang: *Man*, 1904, 84.

⁸ Perry, *The Children of the Sun*, pp. 86-98.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

method except that of washing. Says Ball¹ —“ Gold-washing as practised in India, affords an example, I believe, of human degradation. The colonies of washers who are found plying their trade in most of the areas where, geologically speaking, the occurrence of gold is possible, must be regarded as the remnants of a people possessing special knowledge ; for although the former may have some acquaintance with the appearance of the rocks in the neighbourhood of which gold occurs, so far as I could ascertain from a close examination of the operations of two gold-washers who were in my service for about three months, such acquaintance, if possessed, is rarely availed of. Indeed, I doubt if they ever look upon the rock as being really the source from whence the gold has been derived But it cannot always have been so, for their earliest progenitors must have ascertained the existence of the gold by the application of experimental research in localities where, from theoretical considerations, they believed it to exist.”² The occurrence of gold in the sands and alluvial soil obvious to the eye ensures the retention of old river-names like Suvan-*rekha* or “ Streak of gold ” whereas the names of gold-bearing rocks like *Suvarṇa-giri* (now Maski, cf. Aśoka inser.) in the Nizam's Dominions in the South or Ratnagiri Mudgagiri (present Monghyr) have changed or become obscure. Son-giri and adjoining Suvan-pur seem to have suffered a similar fate.

¹ Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

² It would be pure speculation at this stage, to guess who were the exponents of this archaic civilisation. Yet it is more than mere coincidence that the Asuras are generally closely associated with gold in ancient literature, cf. the golden city of Lankā of Rāvana, cf. also the almost invariable Asura nomenclature with *hiranya* (gold) in the Mahābhārata : *Hiranyakaśipu*, Mbh. A. 66. 17 : *Hiranyadhenu*, Mbh. A. 142. 40 : *Hiranyabāhu*, Mbh. A. 57. 6 : *Hiranyahasta*, Mbh. Sā. 240. 35 : *Hiranyākṣa*, Mbh. Sā. 208. 10 : *Hiranyapura*, Mbh. k. 100. 1. The Pre-Vedic Indus civilisation at Mahenjodaro has revealed the use of gold in *extenso* (Marshall, *Illustr. Times of India*, 1928, March). The Vedic Aryans found gold already in varied use, more so than silver (*C.H.I.*, I. 101). Pre-Vedic India—cum Asura—cum gold is at least a possible hypothesis.

(e) Mr. Jackson once met an Australian gold expert staying at the Rajgir Inspection Bungalow. He had prospected for an Australian company, but the terms of the zamindar were unacceptable and he left.

(f) The traditional mortar and pestle industry of Pātharkāti reported by Buchanan¹ and remembered to-day, once evidently supplied the needs of the Suvan-pur establishment. Even in Buchanan's time, the Pātharkāti works had no apparent *raison d'être*. It is intelligible only as a link in the Son-giri—Suvanpur—Son-Bhāṇḍār chain of goldworks. We searched in vain for any stray pestle lying about. Its absence is easily explicable: (i) some might be lying underground and concealed from view, (ii) due to their small and handy size, neighbouring villagers might be picking them up and removing them all these years. It has been stated above, that even the big cup-marked stones are no longer safe and may disappear after another 10 years—a lesson to those who fondly procrastinate over the fancied changelessness of eastern, specially Indian, landmarks.

(g) But all the above association of place-names and past industries must be based on the real nature of these stones with the cup-like hollows. Their use in gold working is the only plausible hypothesis from a comparison with similar finds elsewhere where the remains of old metallurgical appliances are still available for verification. The following quotation from the paper of Major Munn,² Inspector of Mines to the Nizam of Hyderabad (1918) is highly suggestive, specially in view of the fact that in Hyderabad the very memory of these ancient mines and all extraction of gold, is entirely lost, even in folklore. "It was, in fact, not until 1888 that these old gold mines were rediscovered, and the early efforts of the explorer were watched with intense ridicule by the local Brahmin—who never had had clear proof

¹ *Supra*.

² Munn, *Ancient Mines and Megaliths in Hyderabad*, Mem. Proc. Manchester Lit. and Phil. Soc. 54, 1921, 5-7.

of the Sahib's madness. The difficulty which attended this prospecting was accentuated by the fact that all the workings had been completely filled up and practically obliterated by the so-called black cotton soil, an alluvial resulting from the decomposition of the Deccan Trap. So that the surface indications were most deluding, and consisted of typical auriferous blue quartz, and the remains of old metallurgical appliances on the adjacent hard trappoid rock. Everywhere *cup-like hollows*, undoubtedly nothing but small mortars found in the rock¹ where the gold quartz was pounded with stone pestles, and occasionally small crucibles have been found which, on crushing, gave an assay for gold.²...The development of the mine at Hutti must have taken a considerable period and employed a great number of people, not only in the actual mining, but in the crushing of the resulting ore.³

1 Here separate blocks of stones had been fashioned to serve the purpose of the gold-crushers, due partly to the comparatively softer texture of the possible gold-bearing ridge, partly to more extensive operations as attested by the large settlement of gold-workers at Sivanpur.

2 Munn, *op. cit.*, 5.

3 *Ibid.*, 6-7.

VI.—Historical data in the Garga-Samhita and the Brahmin Empire.

By K. P. Jayaswal.

MATERIALS.

1. In the course of my studies on the *Brahmin Empire* I took up the historical chapter of the Garga-Samhita, entitled the *Fuga-purāṇa* or "the History of the Yugas." I made a search for a better manuscript than the one which was before Dr. Kern, to whom we owe the first notice of the historical chapter and some valuable facts therein.¹ My results based on a manuscript of the Asiatic Society of Bengal were published in 1914 as a part of the "Notes on the Brahmin Empire."² Since then I recovered another manuscript, but a third one could not be traced in spite of attempts extending over fifteen years. The book has become extremely rare.

2. The present study and the text published below depend on the following materials. In the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal there are two manuscripts with the name of the work. But only one of them is the treatise on Jyotiṣa with which we are concerned, the other one having nothing to do with the subject. MS. 20 D. I. bearing the seal of the College of Fort William with the English date 1825 is superior to the manuscript in the possession of Dr. Kern in being complete, while Kern's copy was fragmentary. The Asiatic Society's manuscript has one hundred and sixty folios. The title-page bears the title Garga-Samhita, while the colophons to the chapters describe the book as Gārgiya Jyotiṣa. In some places Vṛddha is added before Garga, e.g., at folio 90. Up to folio 176 the marginal title is गार्गीयं, and thenceforward (whence another copyist starts) the abbreviation गार्गी. च० is used. The text is not much better than that of Kern's manuscript, but it is helpful in many instances as will be seen presently.

¹ *Bṛhatsamhitā* of Varāha-Mihira, Bibliotheca Indica, 1864-65, Introduction, pp. 32-40.

² *Express* Patna, 1914.

3. Two copies of the work are in the Government Sanskrit College at Benares. One of them (no. 123) is fragmentary containing only 45 folios ; it does not reach the Yuga-purāṇa section. But the other (no. 122) is complete except for folios 67 and 68. The MS. is on paper and the Yuga-purāṇa chapter begins at folio 93, the general discussion about past and present history being at folio 92. The MS. generally gives better readings than the other two materials, yet it is not correct. The book is described *Vṛddha-Garga-virachita-Jyotiṣa-Samhitā*, with marginal title गार्गीयो १

Characteristics of the text.

4. The text bears unmistakable traces of Prakritisms, and it seems that the original was either in pure Prakrit or in mixed Sanskrit and Prakrit. It is due to this linguistic feature that we have such an unsatisfactory text. Prakritisms in the text have been noted below. It seems that a text thoroughly correct, from the Sanskrit point of view, is not to be expected.

5. The author had before him some faithful historical chronicle, a matter-of-fact narrative, on which he drew. It was a record of the Imperial Magadha, coming down to the break-up of the Śuṅga Empire by the advent of the Śakas, and the preceding weakness brought about by the Indo-Greeks. It is noteworthy that this is the only Hindu record which preserves an account of the invasion and retirement of the Indo-Greeks on and from Magadha. Further, this is the only record, except the coins, of several Indo-Greek rulers. It is also noteworthy that the rule of the Śakas on the river Śiprā is specially noticed in the accounts. The chronicler found the Śakas ruling, for he closes with a gloomy outlook and does not know the revivalist dynasties of Hindu independence who contended against the Śakas or who wiped them out.

6. Its traditions are distinctly independent of the Purāṇas and details are unique and of the highest importance.

¹ The Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, has one MS. (no. 542 of 1895-1902) dated Samvat 1881. But unfortunately it contains only the beginning of the chapter (fols. 198-194) ; five leaves (195-199) which covered our text are missing.

Date of the work.

7. The work has been quoted by Varāhamihira about 500 A.C. as an established authority.¹ Its giving prominence to the Śakas and its knowledge of them as the last rulers, with realistic details, and its ignorance of the Andhras (generally), the Ābhiras, the Guptas etc., place it earlier than all the known Purāṇas as we have them. These features, on the line of the argument now accepted for determining the date of the Purāṇas, would indicate the latter half of the first century before the Christian era as the probable date of the original chronicle, which was versified in anuṣṭups in this astronomical treatise.²

8. After a brief description of the three former *yugas*, enumerating a number of chief herces of the Mahābhārata to be born in the closing period of the third *yuga* (*yugakṣaye*), the Kali is introduced on the death of Queen Kṛṣṇā (A. S. B. MS. folio 103, Benares MS. folio 93). I give below the text dealing with the Kali age.³

¹ See Kern, Brs., Intro., pp. 33-34.

² The criticism of Dr. Fleet (J. R. A. S., 1912, 791-792) on the antiquity of the book is hardly warrantable. The fact that a work contains unreasonable figures (and the figures of the Yuga-purāṇa are not, as we shall see below, so unreasonable as they have been taken to be) does not necessarily prove a late origin.

³ The Yuga-Purāṇa is in the form of an answer from Śāṅkara to Skanda.

[§ 1. Beginnings of the Kali Age.]

[The text of this section is based on the manuscript of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (to be referred to as A.) and on the MS. of the Benares Sanskrit College (to be referred to as B.). Dr. Kern has not quoted the passage.]

1. द्रुपदस्य सुता कृष्णा देहान्तरगता मही ॥
2. ततो नरक्षये वृत्त द्वः (?) शते नृपमंडले ।
3. भविष्यति कलिर्नाम चतुर्थं पश्चिमं युगं ॥
4. ततः कलियुगस्यातो (० दौ) परीक्षिज्ज [न] मेजयः ।
5. पृथिव्यां प्रथिः श्रीमानुत्पत्स्यति न संशयः ॥
6. सोपि राजा द्विजैः (:) साह्वं विरोधमुपधास्यति ।
7. दारविप्रकृतामर्षः कालस्य वशमागतः ॥

[§ 2. Foundation of Pātaliputra.]

[Dr. Kern has quoted all the lines given by me in §§ 2-5 except line 26. Kern's text is referred to as K.]

8. ततः कलियुगे राजा शिशुनागात्मजो बली ।
9. उद्धी (० यी) नाम धर्मात्मा पृथिव्यां प्रथितो गुणैः ॥

N. B.—Figures in f. n. refer to the lines above. (Round brackets) indicate proposed emendations. [Square brackets] enclose apparent corrections. Pkt = Prakritism.

² शांति (B) for शाते (A).

³ This line is omitted in A.

⁴ कलियुगस्यातो (A), ० स्याते (B), ० जग्मेजय (A), and (B).

⁵ A. spells the last word throughout as शं ०

⁶ A. omits the *visarga*.

⁷ शिशुनागात्मजो (B.) and (K)

⁸ उद्धीर्नाम (K.)

10. गङ्गातीरे स राजर्षि ईक्षिणे स महावरे ।
11. स्थापयेन्नगरं रम्यं पुष्पासमजनाकुलं ॥
12. तेथ Pkt. (तत्र) पुष्पपुरं रम्यं नगरं पाटलीसुतम् ।
[§ 3 Longevity of Puspapura (Pāṭaliputra).]
13. पञ्चवर्षसहस्राणि स्थास्यते नात्र संशयः ॥
14. वर्षाणां च शताः पञ्च पञ्चसंवत्सरास्तथा । Pkt.
15. मासपञ्चमहीरात्रं मुहूर्ताः पञ्च एव च ॥ Pkt.

[§ 4. King Śālisūka at Puspapura and the "so-called Conquest of Dharma".]

16. तस्मिन् पुष्पपुरे रम्ये जनराजा Pkt. शताकुले ।
17. ऋतुचा कर्मसुतः शालिशूको भविष्यति ॥
18. स राजा कर्मसूतो दुष्टात्मा प्रियविग्रहः ।
19. स्वराष्ट्रमर्दते घोरं धर्मवादी अधार्मिकः ॥
20. स ज्येष्ठभ्रातरं साधुं केतिति (केतति?) प्रथितं गुणैः ।

¹⁰ दक्षिणे समानाना चरो (K.) and (A.)

¹¹ नगरे (A.), नगरे रम्ये पुष्पो राम जन संयुतं (B.)

¹² तेथ (A and B) points to Prakritism. It seems to have been तत्थ = तत्र ।

K. reads तेऽथ पुष्पपुरे रम्ये नगरे पाटलीसुते, evidently on account of तेऽथ, putting the verb in the next line in plural.

¹³ स्थास्यन्ते (A. and K.) The B. reading is correct. तेथ in the preceding line has led the copyist to put the verb in plural ; ते has nothing to qualify.

¹⁴ Prakritism is evident in this line and in the next one. वर्षाणां वंशताः (B.)

संवत्सरं (B.)

¹⁵ ०रात्रा (B.)

¹⁶ रम्य जनश्रुतः (K. and A.) रम्ये जनराजा (B.)

¹⁷ ऋतुचा—(K.), ऋतुचः (B.).

कर्मसूतो unanimously in all.

¹⁸ मर्दने (B.). घोरो (A.) is replaced by चैव in (B.).

²⁰ केतिति is to be found unanimously in all the mss., cf. Pāṭi *keṭati* Sanskrit *keṭati*, 'commemorating'.

21. स्थापयिष्यति मोहात्मा विजयं नाम धार्मिकम् ॥

[§ 5. The Greek Invasion and the Battle of Puspapura.]

22. ततः साकेतमाक्रम्य पञ्चालान्मथुरां तथा ।

23. यवना दृष्टविक्रान्ता (:) प्राप्स्यन्ति कुसुमध्वजं ॥

24. ततः पुष्पपुरे प्राप्ते कर्दमे प्रथिते हिते ।

25. आकुला विषयाः सर्वे भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ॥

26. श(च)दु (द्रु)म-महायुद्धं तद् (तदा) भविष्यति पश्चिमं ।

[§ 6. Condition of the People at the end of the Kali Age.]

27. अनार्याश्चार्यधर्माश्च भविष्यन्ति नराधमाः ।

28. ब्राह्मणा (:) क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्राश्चैवं युगक्षये ।

29. समवेद्या (:) समाचारा भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ।

30. पाषंडैश्च समायुक्ता नरास्तस्मिन् युगक्षये ।

31. क्षीनिमित्तं च मित्राणि करिष्यन्ति न संशयः ।

32. क्षीरवल्कलसंवोता जटावल्कलधारिणः ।

33. मिथुका वृषला लोके भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ।

34. चैताग्रिवृषला लोके क्षीयन्ति लघुविक्रियाः ।

35. ऊंकारप्रथितैर्मन्त्रै (:) युगान्ते समुपस्थिते ।

22 पञ्चाला माथुरा (A.) and (B.). K's reading is adopted here. The other reading will indicate that the Yavanas (line 23) were from Pañchāla and Mathurā. But see lines 40—44.

23 एवना (B.). • छवजा (A.).

26 Kern has left out lines 26-41. He casually gives one extract from lines 32-33 :—"The next following is a complaint against the heretics (*pāśhaṇḍās* described as क्षीर-वल्कलसंवोता जटावल्कलधारिणः ; । मिथुका वृषला लोके भविष्यन्ति" (Kern, Br. S. Intro., p. 38).

27 अनार्याश्चार्यधर्माश्च (A.).

28 क्षैव (B.).

29 समवेद्या समाचारा (A.).

32 क्षीरै • संवाता (A.).

33 वृषला (A.).

34 क्षीयन्ति (B.).

36. अग्निकार्ये च जप्ये च अग्निके च दृढव्रताः ।
 37. शूद्राः कलियुगस्यान्ते भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ।
 38. भोवादिनस्तथा शूद्रा [ः] ब्राह्मणाश्च(र)यैवादिनः ।
 39. स[म]वेशा (ः) समाचारा भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ।

[§7 Exactions by Dharma-mīta and the Greek retirement from Madhyadeśa.]

[K. gives lines 42-46.]

40. धर्ममौत-तमा वृद्धा जनं भोक्ष(क्ष्य)न्ति निर्भयाः ।
 41. यवना ज्ञापयिष्य()ति [नश्येरन्] च पार्थिवाः ।
 42. मध्यदेशे न स्थास्यन्ति यवना युद्धदुर्मदा ।
 43. तेषामन्योन्य-संभाव () भविष्यति न संशयः ।
 44. आत्मचक्रोत्थितं घोरं युद्धं परमदारुणं ।

[§8. The Kings of Sāketa and the condition of Magadha.]

45. ततो युगवशात्तेषां यवनानां परिक्षये ।
 46. स(र)केते सप्तराजानो भविष्यन्ति महाबलाः ।
 47. लोहिता[द्रे]स्तथा योधैर्योधा युद्धपरिक्षिताः ।

³⁶ अग्निकार्ये च जप्ये च (A).

³⁸⁻³⁹ Found in (B), not in (A). MS. read समावेशा

⁴¹ नश्येरन् (A) and (B).

⁴² मध्ये (A), मध्यं (B) and (K).

⁴³ संभाव (B), संभावा (A) and (K), भविष्यति (A) and (B).

भविष्यन्ति (K).

⁴⁴ दारुणां (A).

⁴⁵ परिक्षये (B) and (K), परिक्षयं (A).

⁴⁶ संकेते (A) and (K), सकेते (B).

⁴⁷ K. does not cite lines 47-52, but mentions Agniśāyā Kings (page 38).

लोहिताद्रौ (A), ०द्रै (B) योधैर् is left out in (A). युद्धपरीक्षिताः (B).

48. करिष्यन्ति पृथिवीं शून्यां रक्तघोरां सुदारुणां ।
 49. ततस्ते मगधा : कृत्स्ना गङ्गासीना (:) सुदारुणा : ।
 50. रक्तपातं तथा युद्धं भविष्यति तु पश्चिमं ।
 51. अ[र]ग्निवैश्यास्तु ते सर्वे राजानी (०नः) कृतविग्रहा : ।
 52. क्षयं यास्यान्त युद्धेन यथैषामाश्रिता जना : ।

[§9. Advent of the Sakas.]

[K. cites lines 53-58.]

53. शकानांच ततो राजा ह्यर्थलुब्धो महाबलः ।
 54. दुष्टभावश्च पापश्च विनाशे समुपस्थिते ।
 55. कलिङ्ग-शत-राजार्थे विनाशं वै गमिष्यति ।
 56. केचद्रकण्डैः (?) शबलैर्विलुपन्तो (sic) गमिष्यति ।
 57. कनिष्ठास्तु हता (:) सर्वे भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ।
 [§ 10 End of the (first) Saka king, and anarchy.]
 58. विनष्टे शकराजे च शून्या पृथिवी भविष्यति ।
 59. पुष्पनाम तदा शून्य () [वौ] भवत्स () भवति [वत्] ।

⁴⁸ पृथिवी शून्या (A).

⁴⁹ मगधा : (A)., कृत्स्नां (A).

⁵⁰ A. reads सुध* for युद्ध* (B). K. also evidently had युद्ध* before him, as he says 'After some wars, it is said that the Agnivaiśya kings will fall in battle' (page 38).

⁵¹ ०मश्रिता (A).

⁵² ह्यर्थयुद्धा महाबला : (A).

⁵³ कलिङ्ग० (B)., ०गा ० (A) and (K)., ०राजार्थ (B) and (K). राजार्थ (A).

⁵⁴ केचद्रकण्डै (A) and (K)., कोवेडुकण्डैः (B). विलुपन्तो (B).

⁵⁵ शकराजे (K)., ०राज्ये (A) and (B). K. stops with this line but mentions certain data from §§ 11-12. (Br. S., Intro., p. 39.)

⁵⁶ पुष्पनामान तदा शून्य विभत्स भवति च त (A), भवति वत् (B). read भविता वत् ।

60 भविष्यति नृपः कश्चिन्न वा कश्चिद् भविष्यति ।

[§ 11 Certain Mlechchha kings.]

61 ततो(ऽ)रणो धनुमूलो भविष्यति महाबलः ।

62 अम्नाटो लोहिताक्षोति पुष्यनामं[ग]मिष्यति ।

63 सर्वेते नगरं गत्वा शून्यमासाद्य [स]र्वतः ।

64 अर्थलुब्धाश्च ते सर्वे भविष्यन्ति महाबलाः ।

65 ततः स मृच्छाम्राष्टाटो रक्ताक्षो रक्तवस्त्रभृत् ।

66 जनमादाय विवशं परमुत्सादयिष्यति ।

67 ततो वर्णास्तु चतुरः स नृपो नाशयिष्यति ।

68 वर्णाधःवस्थितान् सर्वान् कृत्वा पूर्वाव्यवस्थि[तान्] ।

69 आम्नाटो लोहिताक्षश्च विपत्स्यति सबान्धवः ।

70 ततो भविष्यते राजा गोपालोभाम-नामतः ।

71 गोपा[लः]तु ततो राज्यं मुक्त्वा संवत्सरं नृपः ।

72 पुष्यके चाभिसंयुक्तं ततो निधनमेष्यति ।

61 °रणौ धव,° (B). cf. अनरणो in line 75.

62 आम्नाटो(ज्ञा?)वि (B), K. reads *Abhrāṭa* or *Amrāṭa* Lohitākṣa (p. 39.)

गामिष्यति both in (A) and (B).

63 The last word is पर्वतः in mss.

64 अर्थलुब्धा ° (A)

65 अम्नाटो (A), °स्त्रुक्षौ (A).

66 °त्स्याद्वि° (A).

67 वर्णाध° (A), कृत्वा सर्वे पूर्वा व्यवस्थिते (A); the same in B.

except in place of पूर्वा it reads पूरुर्मा. Probably व्यवस्थिते is a reminiscent of a Prakrit ending.

69 आप्राप लोहिताक्षश्च विपत्सवीधः । (A), आम्नाटोह

° ताक्षश्च विपत्स्यति सबान्धवः । (B).

70 °भामनमतः (A); °नाम नामतः (B).

71 गोपालं नु (A) 'Gopāla' (K)

72 पुष्यके (A), (B); "Pushyaka" (K).

73. ततो धर्मपरो राजा पुण्यको नाम नामतः ।
 74. सोपि संवत्सरं राज्यं भु[क्त्वा] निधनमे(ष्य)ति ।
 75. ततः सविलो राजा अनरणो महाबलः ।
 76. सोपि वर्षत्रयं भुक्त्वा पश्चान्निधनमेष्यति ।
 77. ततो विकुयशाः कश्चिद्ब्राह्मणो लोकविश्रुतः ।
 78. तस्यापि त्रीणि वर्षाणि राज्यं दुष्टं भविष्यति ।

[§12. Puspapura and King Agnimitra.]

79. ततः पुष्पपुर (°) स्या[त्] तथैव जनसंकुलं ।
 80. भविष्यति वीरं (र-) सिद्धार्थं (र्थ-) प्रसवोत्सवसंकुलं ।
 81. पुरस्य दक्षिणे पार्श्वे वाहनं तस्य दृश्यते ।
 82. हयानां द्वे सहस्रे तु गजवाहस्तु (क)ल्पतः ।
 83. तदा भद्रपाके देशे अग्निमित्रस्तत्र कौलके ।
 84. तस्मिन्नुत्पत्स्यते कन्या तु महारूपशालिनी ।
 85. तस्या (अ)र्थे स नृपो घोरं विग्रहं ब्राह्मणैः सह ।
 86. तत्र विष्णुवशाद्देहं विमी [क्ष्य]ति न संशयः ।
 87. तस्मिन्नुद्यमे महाघोरे व्यतिक्रान्ते सुदारणे ।
 88. अ[ग्न]िर्वैश्यस्तदा राजा भविष्यति महाप्रभुः ।

73 नाम-नान्तः (A).

74 भुक्त्वा in mss. (Pkt.).

75 सविलो (A), "Savila" (K.), स विपुलो (B). अनरण्यो (B).

77-78 These lines are only in B.

79 पुष्पपुरस्यात (A), ° स्यां (B).

80 भविष्यति वीरं सिद्धार्थं (A). भवेद्वीरं सिद्धार्थं (B).

82 काल्पतः in mss.

83 K. also "Bhadrapāka". "Agnimitra" (K), आपेमित्र (A).

आपेमित्र (B).

85 घोरं विक्रमं (B).

86 तत्र वि—वसादेहं (A), विमोक्षति (A) and (B).

89. तस्यापि विंशद्दर्षाणि राज्यं स्फूर्तं भविष्यति ।
 90. [आ]ग्निवैश्वस्तदा राजा प्राप्य राज्यं महोद्वत् ।
 91. भीमैः शरर (शवर?)-संघातैर्विग्रहं समुपैष्यति ।
 92. ततः शरर (शवर?)-संघोरे प्रवृत्ते स महाबले ।
 93. वृषकोटे(टि)ना स नृपो मृत्युः समुपयास्यति ।
 [§13. End of the Āgnivaisya (°maitrya?) Kings,
 and the condition of the People.]
 94. ततस्तस्मिन् गतेकाले महायुद्धं [स]दारुणं ।
 95. शून्या वसुमतौ घोरा स्त्रीप्रधाना भविष्यति ।
 96. कृषिं नार्यः करिष्यन्ति लाङ्ग[लक]र्णपाणयः ।
 97. दुर्लभत्वाग्मनुष्याणां क्षेत्रेषु धनुयोधनाः ।
 98. [विंश]द्भार्या दशो या (वा) भविष्यन्ति नरास्तदा ।
 99. प्रक्षीणाः पुरुषा लोके दिक्षु सर्वासु पर्वसु ।
 100. ततः संघातशो नार्यो भविष्यन्ति न संशयः ।
 101. आश्चर्यमिति पश्यन्तो [दृष्ट्वा] धो (°धः) पुरुषाः स्त्रियः ।

89 स्फूर्तं (A).

90 आग्नेवैश्य °(A); महोद्वत् (A).

91 भीमौ शररसंघाते (A).

92 ततः शरे रस छोरे प्रवृत्ते समुदाबले । (A). The last word
 महाबले of (B) might be a mistake for महाहवे ।

93 वृषपातेन (B). मृत्युः (A).

94 ततस्मिन् (A).; सदारुणं in mss.

96 कृषीकार्य°लान्तो वण पाणयः (A); लाङ्गलोवर्ण-पाणयः (B).

97 मनुष्यानां °धनुयोधोना (A).

98 विसद् भार्या दशो या भवि °(A); विंशद् °(B). दशाया
 a corrupt form, originally denoting 'having ten wives.'

99 पुरुषं (A) and (B).

100 नतः संघातशो नार्यो (A).

101 दृष्ट्वा in mss. (Pkt.).

102. स्त्रियो व्यवहरिष्यन्ति ग्रामेषु नगरेषु च ।
 103. नराः स्वस्था भविष्यन्ति गृहस्था रत्नवाससः ।
 [§ 14. Rule of the Sātu King.]
 104. ततः सातुवरो राजा दृष्ट्वा दण्डेन मेदिनी(म) ।
 105. व्यतीते दशमे वर्षे मृत्युं समुपयास्यति ।
 [§ 15 Depredations by the Sakas on the Śipra.]
 106. ततः प्रनष्टचारित्राः स्वकर्मेपहताः प्रजाः ।
 107. करिष्यन्ति चका(=शका) घो[रा] बहुलाय इति श्रुतिः ।
 108. चतुर्भागं तु [श]स्त्रेण नाशयिष्यन्ति प्राणिनां ।
 109. हरिष्यन्ति शकाः षोडशं (कोशं? तेषां ?) चतुर्भागं स्वकं पुरं
 110. ततः प्रजायां शेषायां तस्य राज्यस्य परिक्षयात् ।
 [§ 16 Long Famine and Plague.]
 111. देवो द्वादशवर्षाणि अनावृष्टिं करिष्यति ।
 112. प्रजानाशं गमिष्यन्ते दुर्भिक्षभयपीडिताः ।
 113. ततः पापक्षये लोके दुर्भिक्षे रोमहर्षणे ।
 114. भविष्यति युगस्यान्तं सर्वप्राणिविनाशनं ।
 115. जनमारस्ततो घोरो भविष्यति न संशयः ।

103 नराः स्वस्था ° गृहस्था (A).

104 सतु° (A.); सातु (B.).

105 व्यतन्ते (A.).

107 वका (B.); घोरो (A.) and (B.); इतिश्रुतः (A.).

108 शास्त्रेण (A.). शास्त्रेण (B.). नाशयिष्यति (B.).

109 षोडशं (A.) and (B.).

110 शेषायां (B.). राज्यां (B.).

111 देवोद्धारै दशवर्षाणि (A.).

113 पापक्षये (A.). दुर्भिक्षे (A.).

114 विनाशानां (A.).

115 जःमार° (A.).

Translation.

[Section 1.—Beginnings of the Kali Age.]

The great¹ K ṛ ṣ ṇ ā, daughter of Drupada, died. Thereafter while there is a loss of human population and the circle of kings is thinned for future, there will be the fourth and the last age called K a l i.

Then, in the beginning of the Kali age, there will be born J a n a m e j a y a, son of Parikshit, who will be famous on the earth and full of majesty : there is no doubt about it. And that king will have hostility with the Brāhmaṇas (which will happen) on account of the king coming into the hand of Time, having incurred indignation of the Brāhmaṇas for his wife.²

[Section 2.—Foundation of Pāṭaliputra.]

Thereafter, in the Kali age, (there will be) a king, descended from Śiśunāga, (he will be) powerful, U d a d h ī (Udayi) by name, virtuous and famous on the earth on account of his qualities. That royal sage on the southern bank of the Ganges, within a large enclosure founds a charming (chief) city full of flower gardens and population—that, [or, thereon] capital P u ṣ p a p u r a, the son of P ā ṭ a l ī, the charming.

[Section 3.—Longivity of Puṣpapura (Pāṭaliputra)].

It will last, and there is no doubt about it, for five thousand, five hundred and five years, five months, five days, as well as five muhūrtas (4 hours).

¹ *Mahī*, 'great' (Vedic).

² The story of this quarrel is to be found in the Purāṇas, e.g., *Matsya* (c. 50, 56-65) ; the dispute was in connection with sacrifice. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII. 22-180) mentions the historical fact of the horse-sacrifice by this king and even quotes the *yajñā-gāthā* about it, giving details :—

यासन्दीवति धान्यादं रुक्मिणं हरितस्रजम् ।

अश्वं बबन्ध सारङ्गं देवेभ्यो जनमेजयः ॥ इति

Janamejaya's historical position is undoubted. The quarrel is hinted at in the *Ait. Br.* and is historical. Cf. also Pargiter, *Purāṇa Text*, p. 86.

[Section 4—King Śālīsūka at Puṣpapura and the “so-called Conquest of Dharma.”]

In that charming Puṣpapura, full of hundreds (of men), the king of the nation will be *Śālīsūka*, son of R̥tu (= R̥bhu) *kṣā-karma* (Ribhuksha-Varma ?)¹

That king produced by deeds, of wicked soul, fond of quarrels, talking of Dharma (religion) (but really) devoid of Dharma (religion), causes terrible oppression to his own realm. He, the fool, commemorating (following) his elder brother the good and famous on account of his virtues, will establish the so-called conquest of Dharma (religion).

[Section 5.—The Greek Invasion and the Battle of Puṣpapura.]

After this, having invaded Sāketa, the Pāṇchālas and Mathurā, the viciously valiant Yavanas (Greeks) will reach Kusumadhvaṇi (‘the town of the flower standard’). Then the thick mud-fortification (embankment) at Pāṭaliputra being reached, all the provinces will be in disorder, without doubt. Ultimately a great battle will follow with tree(-like) engines.²

[Section 6. Condition of the People at the end of the Kali Age.]

In the end of the Yuga there will be non-Aryans following the religious practices of the Āryas. The Brahmanas, the Kṣatriyas, the Vaiśyas as well as the Śūdras will be low men. They undoubtedly will dress themselves all alike, and will have conduct all alike. In that end of the Yuga men will be united with heretical sects; they will strike friendships for the sake of women. This is without doubt. Without doubt there will be in this world Bhikṣukas (religious mendicants) of the Śūdra caste, wearing *chīra* (Buddhist religious cloth) and bark, wearing matted hair and bark. At the approach of the end of the Yuga in this world, the Śūdras will offer oblations to fire with hymns

¹ Ribhukshā = Indra. It probably represents the father of Indra-pālita of the Vāyu and the Brahmāṇḍa where he is placed just above the position occupied by Śālīsūka in the Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata. Cf. Devavarmā, the next king.

² This was probably Sataghnī [which is described to be tall like a palm-tree]. The Arthashastra mentions that on the city-walls there should be engines of war : “सुसृष्टिमुज्जरा दण्डचक्रयन्त्रयत्नयः” (ch. 24).

proclaimed with *omkāra*, and (will be) keepers of the three fires with little hesitation. Without doubt in the end of the Kali age, there will be Śūdras with fixed vows for fire sacrifices, praying and in matters of fire rituals.

Without doubt there will be Śūdras who will address with "Bho!", and Brāhmaṇas who will address (others) with "Ārya!" They will be alike in dress and conduct.

[Section 7.—Exactions by Dharma-mīta, and Greek retirement from Madhyadeśa.]

The *Tamā*-elders¹ of Dharma-mīta will fearlessly devour the people. The Yavanas (Greeks) will command, the Kings will disappear. (But ultimately) the Yavanas, intoxicated with fighting, will not stay in *Madhyadeśa* (the Middle country): there will be undoubtedly a civil war amongst them, arising in their own country, there will be a very terrible and ferocious war.

[Section 8.—The Kings of Śāketa and condition of Magadha.]

Then on the destruction of the Yavanas (Greeks) owing to the influence of the Age, at *Śāketa* there will be seven powerful kings. The soldiers wounded in battles by the soldiers of the Lohitādri (the Red Mountain) will make the land empty, terrible with blood, and fearful.

Then the whole of the Magadha people inhabiting by the Ganges (will become) ferocious: ultimately there will be bloodshed and war. They, all the Āgnivaiśya (Āgnimaitryas'?) Kings in (mutual) discord will perish by war, and so will do the peoples dependent on them.

[Section 9.—Advent of the Śakas.]

Then the king of the Śakas, greedy, very powerful, wicked and sinful at the approach of (his) end will attain destruction (in his) aim against the Śata King of Kalinga.

He will go, being effaced by the *Savaras* armed with arrow (of 'Kechadra' or 'Koveḍu'?). The smaller (Śaka chiefs) will be all killed without doubt.

¹ See J. B. O. R. S., XIV, 128, for 'tamā elders.'

[Section 10.—End of the (first) Śaka King, and anarchy.]

On the destruction of the Śaka king the land will become desolate. [The town] called Puṣpa will then become desolate, and, alas, repulsive. There may be a king, or there may not be a king.

[Section 11.—Certain Mlechchha (Greek) Kings.]

Then Āmlāta (or Amnāta), called 'the red-eyed,' the invincible,
Amlata arising from *dhanu* (or *dhatru*) ? who will
 or
Amyntas. be very powerful, will assume the name
 Pushya. They all going to the (or, a) city, will occupy the empty town fully. They all will be greedy for wealth and powerful. Then the foreigner (Mlechchha) Āmlāta, the red-eyed, wearing red clothes, finding the people extremely helpless, will overturn them. Then that king will destroy the four castes, by making all the old-established (castes) lowplaced.

Āmlāta, the red-eyed, will also fall in distress along with his
Gopalobhama family. Then there will be a king,
 or
Appolophanes. Gopālobhāma by name. But King
 Gopāla, then having ruled for one year the kingdom along with Pushyaka, will attain his end. Then there will be the
Pusyaka just king, called Puṣyaka by name; he
 or
Peukelaos. also having ruled the kingdom for one
 year, will attain his end. Then (there will be) King *Savila*, the
Savila invincible, the powerful; he also after
 or
Ziolos. having ruled for three years, will attain
 his end.

Then (there will be) Vikuyaśas, some non-Brāhmaṇa, famous
 among the people. His reign will be
Vikuyasas. wicked, also for three years.

[Section 12.—Agnimitra at Puṣpapura.]

Then (besides), Puṣpapura will be similarly populous. It will be full of festivities celebrating the birth of hero *Siddhārtha*. In the southern quarter of the city his conveyance is seen—two thousand horses and an elephant-car, (*kalptah*, coming down from ages ?). At that time in Bhadrāpaka, the country having a pillar, there (will be) Agnimitra. There will be born

a very beautiful girl in that country. For her that king will have a terrible battle with the Brāhmaṇas. There on account of the (decree) of Viṣṇu, he will leave his body (die), without doubt. After the close of that very terrible battle a son of Agnimitra (misspelt Āgnivaiśya) will be king and a great lord. And his reign will be a successful one, for 20 years. Then King Āgni[maitrya], having obtained the kingdom like Mahendra will have a war with a combination of the *Śavaras* (?); then the king while engaged in the terrible and big war,¹ will attain death through the (weapon?) bull-horn?

[Section 13.—End of the Āgnivaiśya (Āgnimaitraya) kings, and condition of the People.]

Then at the time after the end of the terrible war, the earth will be desolate and terrible, and will be predominated by women. Women will do the work of cultivation handling ploughs; on account of the scarcity of men, women will act as bow-soldiers on (battle) fields. At that time men will have 20 wives or 10 wives. In the society, in every direction, on festivals, the (number of) men will be few and women will be by crowds, without doubt. Seeing women in a position superior to men, they see a strange sight. Women will do every business in villages and towns. Men will be contented, and householders will wear red (ascetic) robes.

[Section 14.—Rule of the Satu king.]

Then the excellent king of the Satus, having conquered the land through his army on completing the 10th year, will attain death.

[Section 15.—Depredations by the Śakas : on the Śiprā.]

Then the terrible and the numerous Śakas will make the population lose their conduct and degraded in their own acts. This is the report (oral). One-fourth of the population the Śakas will destroy by weapon, and they will take away to their own capital one-fourth of their (? wealth or ? number).

Then in the population on the *Śepṛā* on the destruction of that régime :

¹ Reading महाह्वे for महावले ?

[Section 16.—Long Famine and Plague.]

God [Indra] will cause a drought for 12 years. The population will be dwindled, oppressed by famine and perils. Then in the world decayed by sins, after a famine causing extreme terror, there will be the end of the Yuga, destroyer of every life. There will be a terrible plague without doubt.

* * * * *

[The pessimistic description is continued. The waters of several rivers, the Ganges, the Indus, the Irāvati, the Viśākhā, the Vetravati, the Suvarṇā, the Kauśiki and the Sarasvati, would be dried up on account of the drought. There would be atheists and men of unbrahmanical behaviour. In the twelve states (*maṇḍalas*) the orthodox man would be exhausted from hunger and thirst. Those who would live on the Ajātagiri in the two states (*maṇḍalas*) would have a better time and so would they who would reside in the third state. Those who would have patience would survive the famine and the epidemic as also those living on the sea-coast and at Mahāvata, to the south-east of the frontiers. The Kāverī would water for three hundred *yojanas*, and the people would live there on fish and on boars. In another *maṇḍala* near Bhojakata¹ the population at Devikūṭa and Strīkūṭa would subsist on fish and moths. The distress would be most terrible in the Kuvinda country and on the Trikūṭa and the Pāriyātra mountains. All this is to happen at the end of the (Kali) *yuga*. Each *kalpa* is of thousand *yugas*.² Thus ends हृद्गगौये ज्योतिषे युगपुराणं नाम³ ।

General discussion.

1. It is noteworthy that the Kali age, according to this authority, began with the death of Kṛṣṇā Draupadī, while the Purāṇas date the event with the day of the death of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudeva. This datum like so many other details which follow, indicates a source different from what the Purāṇas are based on.

¹ In A., Nokāṭa.

² See J. B. O. R. S. I., 257—58, on extensions of the Kali duration.

³ A. S. B. Ms. fol. 105.

2. Janamejaya is a historical person as already pointed out in the foot-notes to the translation. His quarrel with the Brahmins is known from other sources, but the detail about his wife is new.

3. Udadhī which is a misspelling of Udayī is described as a descendant of Śiśunāga, that is, the **Foundation of Pataliputra.** dynasty in which he flourished started with Śiśunāga just as in the Purāṇas. It is remarkable that the second event of the age after Janamejaya is the foundation of Pāṭaliputra. That the founder was a popular and virtuous king is a new piece of information ; and so is the description that the City was founded within a big enclosure and as a garden-city.

4. It seems that there was some sort of prophecy or astrological calculation connected with the **Longevity of Pataliputra.** foundation of Pāṭaliputra which was current at the time when the Yuga-Purāṇa was composed. A similar prophecy was long current about Delhi, another imperial town. In respect of the first beginnings of Pāṭaliputra in the life-time of the Buddha we know the prophecy attributed to the Great Teacher. The Arthaśāstra mentions the anniversary Nakṣatra of the country just like the anniversary Nakṣatra of the king.¹ Evidently the Nakṣatra of the country was taken to be the foundation-day of the capital or some similar event.

5. The history of India, in the eye of the author of the **Pataliputra and Indian history.** Yuga-Purāṇa, centres round Pāṭaliputra since its foundation and up to the time of the Indo-Greeks and the Śakas. This is marvellously correct. The author notices the successors of the Mauryas ruling both at Pāṭaliputra and Śāketa. The latter fact is borne out by the recent inscription of Ayodhyā. The most important fact however is that the centre of attention of this ancient historian suddenly changes from the Hindu rulers of Pāṭaliputra and Śāketa to the Indo-Greeks of the North-Western frontier, and the Śakas of Western India.

¹ Bhandarakar, *Aśoka*, pp. 10-11.

6. In the Purāṇas Śāliśūka comes after Samprati in the list of the Mauryas. One copy of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa¹ has preserved the reading describing Śāliśūka as the son of Suyāśas which is an alternative name of Kunāla.² As Daśaratha and Samprati were sons³ of Kunāla and grand-sons of

King Śāliśū
Pataliputra
the "so-called
conquest of
Dharma."

Aśoka, it seems that Śāliśūka was probably a third son of Kunāla. The Gargasamhitā seems to state that he emulated his elder brother who had been famous for his virtuousness, and in doing this Śāliśūka foolishly established the so-called conquest of Dharma. This and the express statement "irreligious, though talking about religion" imply that the king imposed some heretical religion on the people and was regarded as a religious tyrant. The 'Conquest by Dharma' reminds us of the same term in Aśoka's inscription. On this evidence it seems that Aśoka's descendants did try to carry out the direction of their ancestor to establish Dharma-vijaya. The brother referred to in the Yaga-Purāṇa was probably the famous Samprati who was to Jainism what Aśoka had been to Buddhism.

7. The Greek invasion covering Śaketa, Pañchāla, Mathurā and Pāṭaliputra is described in a way which shows that it made a deep impression on the national mind and that it was not a very old history at the time when the original chronicler recorded it. All the provinces were highly perturbed when the Greeks reached Pāṭaliputra. In other words, at that time Pāṭaliputra was the imperial capital. The event must be dated about the time when Patañjali writing at Pāṭaliputra gives the illustration "अरुणद्वयः सक्तेतम्" (M. 3.2.2). That it was a past though recent event when Patañjali was writing book III of his Commentary, and at that time Puṣyamitra was performing a long

¹ Pargiter, P. T., p. 29, F. N. 37.

² J.B.O.R.S., Vol. I, pp. 93-94.

³ J.B.O.R.S., Vol. I, p. 94.

sacrifice which Patañjali mentions four pages after : “ पुष्यमित्रं वाचयामः ” (Ibid.). A battle took place in which from the mud fortifications engines of war, tall like trees, did good service. The last year's excavations of Pāṭaliputra at Bulandibāgh brought to light a huge mud wall about 14 feet thick flanked with wooden palisades of the Maurya times. This discovery led me to the interpretation of कदमे (read कादमे) हिते. The expression ‘hita’ is taken to stand for “embankment” or “dike,” after the expression *hitābhāṅga* occurring in Manu (IX. 274), the breaking of which was penal according to that law book.¹ We learn from the Arthasāstra of Kauṭilya that śataghnī's and similar engines were placed on the ramparts. The defence was evidently successful. The event is alluded to by Khāravela. According to the Hathigumpha inscription while Khāravela was at the Barābara hills and Rājagṛha, the Yavana King retreated (evidently from Pāṭaliputra) towards Mathurā.

8. The condition of the people described shows foreigners

The condition following Hindu religious practices and
of the people. the prevalence of heretical Bhikṣukas. This refers to the Greeks and others taking to Bhāgavata and similar cults, and the increase of the Buddhist and Jain monks.

9. It is noteworthy that this condition is placed at the end of the Kali Age. This is in accordance with an early theory also found in the Purāṇas that Kali ended in the second century B.C., that is, about the time of the rise of Puṣyamitra of the Brahmin revival. (J.B.O.R.S. 1917, pp. 255-57.)

10. The description of the retirement of the Greeks from Madhyadeśa and the important detail that the retirement was caused by a civil war in the country of the Greeks point unmistakably to the identification

**Retirement of the
Greeks from
Madhyadeśa (Hindustan).**

¹ ग्रामघाते हितामङ्गे पथि मोषाभिदर्शने ।

शक्तितो नाभिघावन्तो निर्वास्याः सपरिच्छदाः ॥म० ८।२७४॥

See commentators on it : हिता नदीमध्यसेतुरितिसर्वहनारायणः ।

हितामङ्गे जलसेतुमङ्गे इतिकुल्लूकमङ्गः ।

of the Greek invader with Demetrius. So does the expression Dharmamita.

11. The revenue exactions of the Greeks have been particularly noted. In the area which they overran, Hindu sovereigns disappeared.

12. After mentioning the retirement of the Greeks, the

**The kings of
Śāketa and the
condition of Maga-
dha.**

historian notices the kings at Śāketa and simultaneously the condition of the people at Magadha. There followed seven powerful kings at Śāketa who were evidently the Agnimitras. Agnivaiśya is an evident misspelling of Agnimaitrya. This is borne out by the portion marked by me as section 12 where Agnimitra is clearly mentioned but subsequently Agnivaiśya reading occurs. We know from the Ayodhyā inscription that the Śūṅgas had a provincial capital at Śāketa. It seems that after the Greek invasion Śāketa became the real capital and that it was found necessary to strengthen it which was open to attack more easily from Mathurā. Mathurā became a foreign capital in the time of the later Śūṅgas. The Mahābhārata in its last revision knows her such. It became necessary to make Śāketa a strong centre. The similarity of the description of Śāketa to that of Pāṭaliputra suggests that Śāketa came to be fortified after the fashion of Pāṭaliputra.

13. The warriors of *Lohitādri* who cause troubles during the mutual discord of the Agnimitras I cannot identify. The *Lohitādri* is known by name only, its location being wholly uncertain.

14. There was a discord amongst the descendants of Agni-

**Advent of the
Śakas.**

mitra, and a greedy and powerful king of the Śakas attempted to build up an imperial throne. This synchronism places the first Saka invasion about 100 B.C. It seems to me that these Śakas were no other than the early Satraps of Mathurā. They were thus contemporaries with the later Śūṅgas. Lines 55 and 56 indicate that the Śaka king came

in conflict with the king of Kalinga and fell along with his chiefs. The Kalinga king here is called Sāta which might stand for the Sātavāhana. The failure of the Śāka attempts and the destruction were well-nigh complete on the battlefield.

15. While the Agnimitras at Sāketa were decaying and

**Certain Mlechchha
kings.**

Puṣpapura had become almost desolate (l. 59) and while the Śāka king had been crushed by the Sāta king of Kalinga, there arose or had been already ruling as tyrants a line of foreign kings in an unspecified part of India. Some of these kings seem to have borne some title which in Prakrit is rendered by Anarāṇa, probably meaning 'the invincible.' Their names and titles suggest to me an identification with the Indo-Greek kings, as I have indicated by giving the equations above. The Hindu historian complains that they made the low caste people high—a complaint which will often result under the rule of new comers not admitting the validity of the fourfold caste system and taking political advantage of the weakness of that system which tends to keep down a large portion of body politic.

16. After mentioning these outlandish kings, the chronicler reverts to Puṣpapura. He says that the capital was populous as before, that the people performed the birth anniversary of Siddhārtha (the Buddha). He says that for his procession certain paraphernalia could be seen to the South of the Capital. This I take to have been at what is at present called Pahāri, to the South of the Patna City, which is believed to be the site of Aśoka's monastery. All this evidently the historian describes from personal knowledge.

17. About Agnimitra he says that the king had a quarrel with the Brahmanas in the country Bhādrapāka. This place again I am unable to identify. The son of Agnimitra became a great master who ruled for 20 years (at Pāṭaliputra). After him is marked the end of the dynasty.

18. With the end of the Āgnimaitrya at Pataliputra there rises the excellent Sātu king. This is the [Āgnimaitrya] no other than one of the Śatavāhana kings, and the kings.
Sata King.

19. The historian acutely notices that at this point of time the population of Magadha or the Magadhan dominions had so much decreased that the main business was carried on by women, so much so that women had trained themselves even for military service. This is a true description of post-war times, marking a prolonged previous war. The historian also brings on record another feature, namely, that men were only prominent in monk's robes.

20. After the rise of the Sātu king the second Saka period begins. And this is the period of the **The Śakas again in Western India, and the time of the historian.** The historian himself. He says that the terrible and the numerous Śakas made the people demoralised. That they were at this moment in Western India and that the historian is describing the condition of Western India are implied by his mention of the locality as the valley of the Śiprā. One-fourth of the population was destroyed by the Śakas by their sword and probably one-fourth of the population or their wealth was carried away by the Śakas to their own capital. This was an invasion of Mālwa which was, in effect, of a temporary nature. The historian says 'this is the report', that is, he has heard of the events on the Śiprā. This means that he is here recording contemporary facts.

21. A long drought and famine following on the invasion of the Śiprā is the last fact which the historian gives. He surveys the whole of India. The distress was very great particularly in Northern India.

* * * * *

22. It seems that the Śiprā invasion of the Śakas is of a period following 58 B.C. The Hindu population had been weakened by a continuous war and certain amount of internal disruption, which was inevitable in consequence of defeat, and the presence of the foreign enemies.

The causes of political decay in early centuries.

Another source of weakness was Buddhism which encouraged men to run away from duties of citizen and householder. Men sought refuge from iron truth, hard duty and the invader, in soft robes and monastery. By the easy ceremony of shaving off the head they cast off the responsibilities of men—the men of the Grhyasūtras, the men of the Arthasāstras and the men of the Dharmaśūtras. They cast off their descent from the heroes of Vedic struggles and strife and took up the easy ancestry from Sākya-muni. But the cause which was still more powerful for completing the unprecedented demoralisations was the famine which reduced almost the whole of India to a condition of imbecility lasting for more than one generation. The Śakas and the Kushans who followed the Śakas found a thoroughly lifeless India. It was therefore a very easy task for Kanishka and his predecessors who established an empire and for their descendants to hold it on for 300 years undisputed. It took the country three centuries to recover and gather strength enough to shake off the Kushans. I think, we get here in the last datum supplied by the Hindu historian the explanation of the following gloomy career of Indian history of the first three centuries of the Christian era. The greatest destroyers of the Brahmin Empire were thus prolonged wars and a long famine, the latter being more powerful than the former.

VII.—The Dog-bride in Santali and Lepcha Folklore.

By Professor Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

The Santals are a large Dravidian tribe which is classed as Kolarian on linguistic grounds and which inhabits Western Bengal, Northern Orissa, Bhagalpur and the Santal Parganas. They have an extensive and interesting mass of folk-lore.

A most curious and interesting item of their folk-lore is that about the Dog-bride who is really a human girl wearing the skin of a dog. The following folktale is narrated among them about this Dog-bride :—

A herd boy married a dog-bride who was really a girl wearing the skin of a dog. Every night she used to doff her dog-skin guise and leave the house. Her husband discovered this. One night, while she was about to go out of the house, he caught hold of her and burnt her dog-skin guise. Thereafter she remained a girl possessed of more than human beauty.¹

Curiously enough, the Dog-bride also occurs in the folk-lore of an altogether alien people, namely the Lepchas who are a Mongoloid tribe living in Sikkim, Western Bhutan, Eastern Nepal and the Darjeeling district.

The following folktale about the Dog-bride is narrated by the aforementioned Lepchas :—

Once upon a time, there was an orphan boy who had nothing to eat except the fish he used to catch. One day, he managed to catch a very big fish ; and as he was dividing it up in his mind into equal portions, the fish in entreating terms said " Don't kill me, come with me to my parents." To this, the orphan boy replied : " But how can I go with you into the water ? " The fish told him that he would have to hold on to its tail very lightly and jump with it into the river and swim until they would come to its father and mother, who

¹ For a fuller version of this folktale, vide *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, By C. H. Bompas, London : David Nutt, 1909, pp. 254-256.

were sitting on golden and silver thrones. The orphan boy exactly did as he was told to do; and soon arrived at the parental home of the fish. After their arrival there, the fish informed its parents of the fact that it had been caught by the orphan boy, but that its captor—the orphan boy—had mercifully spared its life. On hearing this the parents expressed their feeling of gratitude to the orphan boy and offered to reward the latter by giving him anything that he would like to have.

Noticing a wee puppy that was lying in a corner of the hearth, the orphan boy asked for it. The parents of the fish very gladly presented it to him; and bringing it home, he tied it up in a corner of his hut.

As usual, the orphan boy went out every day and, on returning home in the evening, found that somebody had tidied up his room and cooked food for him during his absence. One day, he hid himself in a corner of his room to see who it was that tidied up his room and cooked his food. He found that it was the dog, who leaving off her dog-skin guise, had assumed the shape of a beautiful girl and was doing his household work. She was made of gold from her head down to her waist, and was made of silver from her waist down to her feet.

As she was about to begin the household work, he caught hold of her, and tearing off her dog-skin guise into pieces, scattered the same everywhere. Gold and silver flowers sprang up from wherever the pieces of the skin had fallen.

Thereafter, the orphan boy and the dog-bride lived happily in that cottage. ¹

On comparing the Santāl and the Lepcha folktales, we find :—

- (1) That in the Santāl version, the dog-bride is only a human girl wearing the skin of a dog; whereas, in the Lepcha variant, she is a fairy wearing a dog-skin guise.

¹ *Vide* the folktale entitled "*A fairy disguised as a puppy*" in the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, (New Series), Vol. XXI (1925) no. 4, pp. 380-382.

- (2) That, in the Santali version, she leaves off her dog-skin guise during the night and assumes the shape of a human girl ; whereas, in the Lepcha variant, she doffs her dog-skin guise during the day time and, assuming the shape of a beautiful girl, does the household work.
- (8) In the Santali version, the dog-bride is only a human girl made of flesh and blood ; whereas, in the Lepcha variant, she is a fairy made of gold from head down to her waist, and made of silver from her waist down to her feet.
- (4) That, in the Santali variant, the dog-bride's husband burns the dog-skin guise which is reduced to ashes ; whereas, in the Lepcha variant, the orphan boy tears off the fairy's dog-skin guise to pieces and scatters the same everywhere ; and gold and silver flowers spring up from these fragments of the skin.

These two folktales illustrate the cardinal doctrine of the philosophy of the Lower Culture, which is to the effect that there is no difference between man and beasts and that a man, at his sweet will and pleasure, can assume the shape of a beast and *vice versa*. This belief in the interchangeability of human and animal forms also prevailed in Europe during the Middle ages, when the people believed in the existence of *werwolves* or of human beings who were men by day and wolves by night. The same sort of belief prevails in India and the Malay Peninsula where the people believe in the existence of *wertigers* or of men who are human beings by day and tigers on other occasions. Similarly, the natives of South Africa believe in men-hyænas, and the Baluchis of Baluchistan believe in the existence of men-bears. ¹

The Tibetans also believe that certain privileged persons can, at their sweet will and pleasure, transform themselves into beasts. There is in Tibet a lady named Dor-je Pa-mo,

¹ For a fuller exposition of this point, vide *the Handbook of Folklore*, By C. S. Burne, London : Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd., 1914, pp. 40-41.

"the thunderbolt sow" of Sam-ding, who is believed by the Tibetans to be capable of metamorphosing herself into a sow.¹

From what I have stated above, it would appear that the Santals are a Dravidian people, and that the Lepchas are members of the Mongoloid race; that they live at a great distance from each other and that there is no record or document extant to show that there was ever any intercommunication between these two tribes. Notwithstanding this, there is a great deal of similarity between the aforementioned two folktales. Therefore the question arises: How has this similarity come about?

We should answer this question by saying that this similarity between the two aforementioned folktales can only be explained by Dr. Franz Boas's theory of the "Parallelism of Culture-Development." It postulates that "different groups of mankind started, at a very early time, from a general condition of lack of culture; and, owing to the unity of the human mind and the consequent similar response to outer and inner stimuli, they have developed everywhere approximately along the same lines, making similar inventions and developing similar customs and beliefs"²

¹ *Vide "Tibet Past and Present,"* by Sir Charles Bell, Oxford. Printed at the Clarendon Press, 1924, p. 138.

² *The mind of Primitive Man,* By Franz Boas, New York; Macmillan Company, 1922. p. 181.

VIII.—The Caterpillar-Boy and the Caterpillar-Husband in Santali and Lhota Naga Folk-lore.

By Professor Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

The Santāls of the Santāl Parganas believe in the existence of men who are capable of changing themselves into caterpillars by wearing caterpillar skins. This belief of theirs is illustrated by the following interesting folk-tale which is current among them :—The Caterpillar-boy, who was a young man wearing the skin of a caterpillar, married a Rājā's daughter. Every night, after leaving the caterpillar-skin at home he went out to dance. The princess's maid-servant saw this and informed her mistress of it. One night, the princess and her maid-servant burnt the caterpillar-skin in a fire and her husband remained a handsome young man ever after that.¹

Curiously enough, a similar belief is also current among the Lhota Nagas who are a Mongoloid tribe living in the Naga hills of the North-eastern frontier of India. These Lhota Nagas, numbering some twenty thousand souls, occupy a piece of territory that may be roughly described as the drainage area of the Middle and Lower Doyang and its tributaries, down to the point where it emerges into the plains.

This Lhota Naga belief is illustrated by the following interesting folk-tale which is current among this people :—Once upon a time there lived a man and his wife. But the man was not really a human being but a caterpillar during the daytime and a real man by night. His wife was not aware of her husband's shape-shifting. One night, before retiring to sleep she said : "To-morrow I shall go out to collect some herbs for my food." These words were heard by her husband. So, very early in the next morning he left the

¹For a fuller version of this folk-tale, vide *Folk-lore of the Santāl Parganas* by C. H. Bompas, London : David Nutt, 1909, pp. 227-232.

house first and, transforming himself into a caterpillar nipped off the leaves of the herbs mentioned by his wife. Thereafter his wife arrived on the spot and, seeing the leafless condition of the herbs, exclaimed: "How strange is this; a caterpillar must have eaten the leaves of my herbs. However, I shall gather them though leafless they are, and take them home for my food". So saying she plucked them up and took the same home. But that night after she and her husband had retired to bed, she said to the latter: "How strange it was that a caterpillar had eaten up the leaves of the herbs that I went to gather". To this he replied by saying: "It was I that did this." This behaviour of her husband greatly enraged her, so, when he was fast asleep, she gently pushed and pushed him so that he fell into the fire and was burnt.

Thereafter, the woman had to devour caterpillar hairs with the food she ate, and consequently coughed and coughed till she died.

Therefore now-a-days if anyone cough much the Lhota Naga people say, "you should not burn a caterpillar."¹

On comparing the Santâli and the Lhota Naga folk-tales, I find that:—(a) In the Santâli version the hero transformed himself into a caterpillar by wearing a caterpillar-skin which he used to doff at night: Whereas in Lhota Naga variant, the hero was, a real caterpillar by daytime and metamorphosed himself into a real man during the night.

(b) In the Santâli story when the heroine discovered her husband's secret she burnt his caterpillar skin in the fire, and thereafter her husband remained a handsome young man for ever: Whereas in the Lhota Naga folk-tale when the heroine discovered the secret of her husband's shape-shifting she burnt her husband to death.

(c) The sequel of the Santâli story is a happy one; whereas that of the Lhota Naga variant is a tragic one.

¹See the folk-tale entitled, "*The woman with a caterpillar for a husband*" in *The Lhota Nagas*, by J. P. Mills. London: Macmillan and Co. 1922, pp. 195-196.

These two folk-tales illustrate the cardinal doctrine of the philosophy of the Lower Culture which is to the effect that there is no difference between men and beasts, and that a man, at his sweet will and pleasure, can assume the shape of a beast, and *vice versa*.

There is no evidence to show that the Lhota Nagas borrowed the story from the Santáls or that the latter derived it from the former. Therefore the question arises: how has this similarity come about? The answer to this query is that this coincidence of folk-tales which are current among widely separated peoples like the Santáls and the Lhota Naga, is due to a "Psychic Unity" which compelled primitive man to conceive the same explanations of natural phenomena and express them in similar language.

IX.—The Frog in North-Indian Rain-Compelling Rites.

By Professor Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

The frog plays an important part in the rain-compelling rites performed by many races of people all over the world. Sir J. G. Frazer accounts for this by formulating the theory that, as frogs and toads are intimately associated with water they are popularly believed to be the custodians of rain and that, for this reason, frogs are so much in evidence in rain-compelling rites.* With due deference to such a high authority as Sir J. G. Frazer, I take the liberty to state that his theory does not apply to the rain-making rites performed by the Hindus of Northern India.

They believe that Indra is the god of rain and that, as frogs in large numbers appear on the commencement of the rainy season they must be the rain-god's myrmidons and that it is for this reason that the frogs are so much used in rain-compelling rites. This is evidenced by the rain-compelling rite which is performed in villages in the district of Darbhanga in North Bihar. In this rite the setting in of the rains with their concomitants—the appearance of the frogs is simulated by the travesty of throwing of pitchers of water containing frogs into neighbour's court-yards. Sometimes instead of throwing actual frogs the village boys blacken their faces and leap and hop on all fours after the manner of frogs. In this case the appearance of the frogs is symbolised by the leaping up of village boys acting the part of frogs.

These two rites are instances of Homœopathic magic the underlying principle of which is that "Like produces like", that is to say, if the appearance of frogs—the favourite myrmidons of the rain-god Indra—is brought about by some artificial or magical means, the rain-god will be so far pleased

* "The Golden Bough" by Sir J. G. Frazer. Abridged edition, London; Macmillan & Co., 1923, p. 72.

with the performance of the rite that he will cause profuse rain to fall.*

Sometimes, for the purpose of removing drought, the rain-god's favourite frogs are tortured.† What is the motive lying at the root of this rite? It is not far to seek, for the root idea lying at the basis of this rite is that if the rain-god's favourite myrmidon—the frog—is tortured the rain-god's heart will be filled with pity for his favourite's sufferings and will so far relent that he will send down rain for the relief of humanity, suffering from the consequences of a drought. Curiously enough, an analogous rite is performed by the Indians of the Orinoco (South America) who believe that the toad or frog is the lord of waters, and that under the influence of this belief they will not kill any one of them. The Tibetans also believe that the frog is the God of waters and that, by immuring him underneath the ground, rain and, for the matter of that, floods, may be stopped. The members of the first Mount Everest expedition of 1921, came across an instance of this Tibetan folk belief as will appear from the following extract from their official report:—
“ This (the temple of the Gandenchöfel Monastery) was a curious building, square in shape, and surmounted by a cupola. It was very solidly built of stone and was, they told us, about 500 years old. It was founded by a saint called Jetsun—Nga—Wang—Chhöfel who, after a great flood which swept down the valley, destroying all the houses in it, had taken a large frog (*which animal is believed to represent Water God*) and buried it under the centre pillar of the temple. With great reverence they showed us the spot under which this unfortunate frog had been immured in the centre of the shrine. This immolation of the frog had apparently not been completely efficacious in preventing the floods as two other floods had

*See my article “Further Notes on rain-compelling and rain-stopping Charms,” in the *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, vol. VII, pp. 192-94.

†Vide Haddon's “*Custom of the World*,” London, Hutchinson and Co. Vol. I., p. 523.

subsequently occurred, and two small chortens had been erected to make quite certain that the frog could not get out again and cause more floods*. Sometimes these Indians keep frogs under a pot and whenever there is a drought they beat these batrachian with ros. Here the root idea is that by torturing the lord of water himself he will be compelled to send down rain.†

Recently, the existence of a curious rain compelling rite, which is performed in Assam and which goes by the name of "the Marriage of the Frogs" has been brought to the notice of anthropologist. It is stated that this rite had its origin in some legend connected with Indra, the God of rain and is performed in Assam, whenever there is a drought, for causing rain to fall.‡

Now what is the root idea lying at the basis of this custom? The object is no other than that of pleasing the rain-god Indra by bringing about the marriages of his favourite myrmidons—the frogs, so that they may increase and multiply. The rain-god becomes pleased at this and, as a token of his favour, causes copious showers of rain to fall.

*Mount Everest, the Reconnaissance, 1921, by Lt. Col. G. K. Howard Bury, London, Edward Arnold and Co., 1922, p. 109.

†Frazer's "The Golden Bough" Abridged edition of 1923, p. 73.

‡Vide the paper entitled "The frog marriage in Assam" read by T. C. Saikia before the "Section of Anthropology" of the Fourteenth Session of the Indian Science Congress held at Lahore in January 1927. This paper has been published in full in *Man in India* (Ranchi), Vol. VII, pp. 210-11.

X.—Note on Dog-Worship in the Hazari-bagh District in Chota Nagpur.

By Professor Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

In India, the worship of animals assumes two forms. In some cases the animals are regarded as permanent deities or members of the Hindu Pantheon. "These may be grouped as *animal gods*." In other cases godlings or goddesslings are supposed to take temporary possession of animals which, for the nonce, become objects of adoration. After some time the deities leave their temporary dwelling places and the animals, of whom they had taken possession, become ordinary animals and receive no reverence whatever from the people. These temporary *animal gods* find no place in the Hindu Pantheon and may be classed under the heading of "*gods temporarily incarnated in animal forms*."

Let us take the subject of the worship of dogs which is prevalent in several parts of India. For instance, in Western India, many Hindus worship the dog as being the vehicle of the god Kâla Bhairava though it is usually regarded as an unclean animal. Then again, no Maratha will lift his hand against a dog. In Nepal there is a festival which goes by the name of *Khicha Puja*. On this occasion wreathes of flowers are placed round the neck of every dog in the country.

On this subject Dr. Henry Ambrose Oldfield, M. D. says: "On the first day (of the Dewali) all dogs are worshipped and feasted, garlands of flowers are put round their necks, and for that day at least the pariahs in the valley and cities of Nipal live in clover, for none are beaten nor in any way maltreated."*

In these instances of dog-worship, the dog takes the place of a permanent "Animal god." But the most curious form of dog-worship takes place in the district of Hazaribagh in

*Vide *Sketches from Nipal, Historical and Descriptive*, by the late Henry Ambrose Oldfield, M.D. in two volumes. London: W. H. Allen and Company, 1880, Vol. II, P. 352.

Chota Nagpur. There is a powerful goddessling named Lugu, who is much revered by the aboriginal peoples living in the tract of country between the Gola, Peter-bar, Gumia and Mandu thanas jurisdictions. Situated in this tract of country is a hill named the Lugu hill. On this hill the goddessling Lugu resides with her army of *Birs* or warriors, of whom the leader is *Tulsi Bir*.

In June 1920, an ordinary red-hued dog appeared from the direction of Karanpura, i.e., the west. People said that the aforementioned *Tulsi Bir* had entered this animal and in this form was out on a hunting expedition. Vermilion marks were made on its forehead; garlands of flowers or coloured thread were placed round its neck; and its tail was besmeared with *ghee* or clarified butter. It was fed with milk and *arwa* rice. It was allowed to kill goats and pigs and was fed with a portion of the meat of the animals it had killed. It was provided with a bedding to sit upon. A drummer accompanied it; and two men fanned it with branches of the *nim* tree. It was accompanied by a retinue of men including the village *Nāiyā*. It was taken to the Lugu hill and when it arrived there it was believed that *Tulsi Bir* had left it. Thereafter it was allowed to wander about freely.

During the period commencing from about 1900, up to 1920, seven other cases are reported to have taken place in the district of Hazaribagh, in all of which cases it was popularly believed that the aforementioned *Tulsi Bir* or, in one case Bhairava, had taken possession of the dog and thereby causing it to be worshipped by the aboriginal people of the neighbourhood.

The gentlemen who has reported these cases, says that one noteworthy feature thereof is that nowhere else except in the aforementioned tract in the Hazaribagh district do these cases of worship of the dog as *temporary Animal-god* take place. He is of opinion that the aforementioned tract being inhabited by

Vide "Cases of supposed Dog possession in Hazaribagh, by H. D. Christian, in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, for December, 1920, pp. 562—567.

the Santals, their fondness for hunting has something to do with the origin of the belief that the dog becomes temporarily possessed by a godling or goddessling.

It is curious to know that *Tulsi Bir* who is the tribal god of the Bhuiyāns, and who is popularly believed by these aboriginal peoples of Hazaribagh to take temporary possession of Dogs, has been degraded by them to be a subordinate follower of the goddessling Lugu, who is adored and prayed to only by the Kolarian tribes which include the Mundās, the Santāls, the Kharwārs and the Birhors.

On a careful study of the foregoing instances of dog worship, I am of opinion that it is nothing but a form of animistic worship. The names of the goddessling Lugu and of her favourite follower *Tulsi Bir* are not to be found either in the Vedās, the Purānas and other sacred writings of the Hindus. They are not installed as members of the Hindu Pantheon. The aforementioned Kolarian peoples are animists and believe that the whole of Nature is peopled by a host of benevolent and malevolent spirits who are invisible and incorporeal. I am inclined to think that both *Lugu* and *Tulsi Bir* are materialised forms of some one of the aforesaid spirits. This being so, the instances of dog worship which are reported to take place in the district of Hazaribagh alone after intervals of one year or there about, have their origin in the animistic beliefs of the aforementioned aboriginal peoples.

XI.—Note on a Recent Instance of the Human Sacrifice for discovering hidden treasures.

By Professor Sarat Chandra Mitra, M. A., B.L.

There is a widespread belief among the people of many countries all over the world that snakes act as guardians of treasures hidden underneath the earth. The origin of this belief is stated to be that covetous and miserly persons, who have accumulated great hordes of wealth,—cannot take away their thoughts from these treasures even after their deaths. Folklore states that these persons, the be-all and end-all of whose existence in this world was the accumulation of wealth, assume the shape of some monstrous snakes and come down to earth and act as the guardians of these treasures. After sometime the snake guardian gets tired of this sort of life and, either assuming the shape of a human being or appearing in a vision asks a covetous person living in the neighbourhood of the hidden wealth to take possession of the wealth after giving one of his dearest relatives in return for it, so that the former may pass away into some other kind of existence. If some covetous person agrees to the snake guardian's request, and gets possession of the hidden wealth after giving the serpent one of his dearest kinsmen, that is to say, by sacrificing to the said snake one of his dearest relatives, the snake enters into some other state of existence.

An instance of this gruesome belief has recently cropped up in the Nizam's dominion, where a woman is stated to have kidnapped a child and killed it by way of sacrifice to propitiate the guardian deity of a hidden treasure as will appear from the following official account published elsewhere :—"The story of a remarkably gruesome crime, alleged to have been committed by a rich woman about three years ago in order to appease evil spirits supposed to be the guardians of a treasure-trove is contained in the Hyderabad State Police report for 1333 *Rasli*.

One Radhama, Patwarni of Yelamner, in the Nalgonda district, asked a Kunbi woman to procure for her a first born infant girl for the purpose of unearthing a treasure-trove buried in her house and promised the Kunbi a reward for her services. The Kunbi woman waited for an opportunity and, seeing the eighteen months old daughter of a local goldsmith playing in the street, kidnapped the child and took it to Radhama; who hid it in the upper storey of her house, giving it a strong dose of opium to keep it quiet. At nightfall Radhama went to the spot where the treasure-trove was supposed to have been buried, accompanied by four men. Then, while one of the men chanted incantations, the other men excavated the ground.

The report goes on to say that when the treasure-trove had been found the baby girl was fetched from the place where it was concealed and brutally sacrificed to the guardian spirits and buried in the pit from which the treasure was removed. The woman and her accomplices obtained bail but on revision the sessions court annulled the bail order. The woman then moved the High Court and secured an order for her release on bail. The Full Bench, however, ordered the woman to be kept under special surveillance and the police investigation to be continued. Subsequently His Exalted Highness the Nizam appointed a commission to inquire into the case. The findings of this commission are not yet known."*

It does not appear from the foregoing story whether or not the spirit who guarded the hidden treasure and to propitiate whom the woman Radhama sacrificed the child was believed to be a serpent.

In some cases, a human being is not actually sacrificed to propitiate the guardian spirit of the hidden treasure. Instead of the human sacrifice a drop of blood from the little finger of the first-born son is offered for the purpose of appeasing the said spirit.

*Vide the article entitled "*Alleged Human Sacrifice, Hyderabad Story*" in the Calcutta daily "*Statesman*" of the 2nd December, 1926.

It is believed in northern India that snake charmers are endowed with the power of recognising particular snakes to be guardians of such hidden treasures. If one of them comes across such a snake guardian, he stealthily goes to its hole and cajoles the latter into pointing out to him the place where the treasure-trove is concealed. It is further popularly believed that the snake guardian agrees to do this on condition of the snake charmer's offering him a drop of blood from the little finger of a first-born son.*

The custom of substituting the actual sacrifice of a human being by the offering of a drop of blood from the little finger of a first born son has its analogue in a practice which prevailed in ancient times in the Bombay Presidency, where, whenever a well was dug or a fort was built a human sacrifice used to be offered in order that water might come out of the well and that the foundations of the fort might be stable. But, at the present day, no such human sacrifice is offered. But, in lieu of it, the blood from the fourth finger of a person is taken and sprinkled over the well or the foundations of the fort.†

In the Santal Parganas, the practice of offering human sacrifices for obtaining great wealth appears to have been prevalent till recent years. A writer in the Calcutta daily *Statesman* says: "Sir Herbert Risley said that instances had been mentioned to him of people having been kidnapped and sacrificed within quite recent times by influential headmen, or communities or villagers, who hoped in this way to *gain great riches* or win some specially coveted private revenge."‡

* *Vide* W. Crooke's, "An introduction to the popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India," Allahabad Edition of 1894, pages 270-71.

† *Vide* the "Folklore of Bombay," By R. E. Enthoven, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1924, page 341.

‡ *Vide* the article entitled "*Human Sacrifices in India*" in the Calcutta daily *Statesman* of the 3rd July 1927.

XII.—A Brief Report of Anthropological Work for the year 1927-28.

By Rai Bahadur S. C. Roy, M.A., B.L., M.L.C.

During the year 1927-28, besides some tours in Chōṭā-Nāgpur for a study of the ethnology of some of the aboriginal tribes such as the Khāriās and the Oṛāons, I made some investigations into the ethnology of the *Jūāngs* and the *Hill-Bhūigās* of the Keonjhar State in Oṛissā, and the *Khonds*, the *Porojas* and the *Gadavas* of the Agency tracts in the Madras Presidency.

In the course of my investigations into the religious beliefs and customs of the Oṛāons, I discovered that a large number of Oṛāons, numbering approximately about a thousand, in the western and south-western parts of the Rānchi district have adopted the *Kabirpanthi* religion and that the introduction of this religion among the Oṛāons began nearly a century ago. Neither any of the Census Reports nor any previous writer on the ethnology of Chōṭā-Nāgpur, such as Dalton or Risley, appears to have noticed or, at any rate, mentioned this interesting fact.

My inquiries show that the *Kabirpanthi* religion came to the Oṛāon country from the Rāipur and Bilāspur districts of the Central Provinces by way of the Sambalpur district and the Feudatory State of Gāngpur on the south-western borders of the Rānchi district, in the second quarter of the last century. There are *Kabirpanthi* converts in the Sambalpur district as well as in the Gāngpur State. And it is interesting to note that two or three Oṛāons of the Gāngpur State have become *Kabirpanthi gūrūs* or religious teachers, one of whom has many disciples in the Rānchi district and only recently initiated an Oṛāon of village Mahārājgunj in the Basīā thānā of the Rānchi district. In the Rānchi district itself some *Kabirpanthi gūrūs*, of Hindu lineage, have established themselves permanently. Such are Sobhā Dās

at village Oskeā, Mūtrū Dās at Phūlwārtōli, and Lālū Dās at Bānāgūtū, in the Basīā thānā. These *Gūrūs* hold *pānjās* or letters of authority and jurisdiction from the late Dayaram Sāheb and Ugranām Sāheb, the Head *Mahants* at *Dhāmākherā* in the Raipur district of the Central Provinces. Almost all the Orāon converts to *Kabirpanthism* in the Rānchi district belong to the Simdegā and Gūmlā subdivisions which comprise the south-western and western parts of the district.

From enquiries among the principal *Kabirpanthi* Orāon families, it appears that the earliest converts to the faith were made among the Orāons shortly after the 'Kōl Insurrection' of 1832-1833. And I have found a confirmation of this in the earliest annals of the first Christian Mission to Rānchi. From the reports of the earliest German Christian Missionaries to Chōṭā-Nāgpur it appears that when in 1845 they began to preach the Christian gospel to the Orāons, they found a man of the name of *Ichchhā Gūrū*, a Teli by caste, actively spreading the doctrines of the *Kabirpanthi* religion among the Orāons. Active propagation of the religion has now ceased in the Rānchi district. At rare intervals some animistic Orāon family with which a *Kabirpanthi* family may have entered into marriage relations may feel attracted to the purer faith and cleaner habits of their *Kabirpanthi* relatives and agree to be initiated by the latter's *gūrū*.

The Orāon *Kabirpanthis* have preserved so much of the old tribal customs as do not directly militate against the fundamental tenets of the *Kabirpanthi* faith. And so a *Kabirpanthi* Orāon is permitted to marry his son or daughter in Orāon families still clinging to their old animistic faith. And such marriages do often take place.

As a matter of fact, a *Kabirpanthi* Orāon always seeks matrimonial alliances not only within his own tribe but also observes the strict tribal rule of totemistic exogamy. When, however, a *Kabirpanthi* Orāon marries his daughter to a spirit-worshipping Orāon, the girl will no longer be allowed to cook or serve rice and pulses for her parents and their people

or to eat with them. Similarly a *Kabirpanthi* Orāon who has taken a wife from a spirit-worshipping Orāon family will convert her into his own faith and neither she nor her husband will take cooked food at the hands of the girl's people. As I have said, a *Kabirpanthi* Orāon may observe such of the tribal customs at birth, death and marriage as are not incompatible with the cardinal doctrines of his adopted faith, but he must in addition arrange for the characteristic *Kabirpanthi* religious service known as the *Chowkā*. This has also to be arranged for at the initiation of a new convert.

An essential part of this ceremony is that the *Mahant* or *Gurū* breaks a cocoanut and distributes it to all *Kabirpanthis* present along with consecrated betel-leaves. The flesh of this cocoanut is believed to represent the head and the betel-leaf the body of *Kabir*, and the eating of these would appear to serve the purpose of a sacramental meal and spiritual communion with the founder of the religion.

With the exception of the *Chowkā* service and the communal meal that follows, there does not appear to be much in the *Kabirpanthi* religion, as the Orāon understands it, to appeal to the Orāon's religious imagination and satisfy his craving for institutional religion.

Kabir or *Sat Sāheb*, whose name he has to reverently utter every day and to whom many *bhajans* or hymns are addressed, is to the Orāon convert more or less of an abstract name which does not appear to evoke the same intensity of religious emotion that the name of *Mahādeo* or *Bhagawān* does in the minds of the Hinduised Orāon *Bhagats*. And it is curious to find that some *Kabirpanthi* Orāons, like Hinduised Orāon *Bhagats*, have begun to employ Brāhman priests to officiate at marriage ceremonies. The Orāon *Kabirpanthi* believes in the power of the *bhūts* or malignant spirits as much as his animistic tribe-fellow does; but whereas the former resorts to sacrifices and certain magical practices to appease or expel them, the latter sings special *bhajans* or hymns for the purpose. One of my *Kabirpanthi* Orāon friends informs me that his father had

actually brought from the Head *Mahant* at Dhāmākherā a book of special *bhājans* to drive away *bhūts*.

As I said, the *Kabirpanthi* religion is no longer making headway among the Orāons; and the *Kabirpanthi* Orāon is now hardly distinguishable from the average Hinduised *Bhagat* except by his omission of certain old tribal observances.

In the Jeypore State in the Agency tracts of the Madras Presidency and in the Vizagapatam district, I made some study of the Khonds, the Gadavas and the Porojas. The first are a Dravidian speaking tribe akin to the Orāons of Chōṭā-Nāgpur, the second a Mūṇḍā-speaking tribe akin to the Mūṇḍās, Khārīās and other Mūṇḍā-speaking tribes of Chōṭā-Nāgpur, whereas the third appear to be a tribe of mixed origin.

It is interesting to note that as in the Chōṭā-Nāgpur plateaux the Mūṇḍā-speaking Khārīās and Mūṇḍās live side by side with the Dravidian-speaking Orāons, in the Sāntal Parganas we find the Mūṇḍā-speaking Sāntals side by side with the Dravidian speaking Malers or Sāṭṭīās, pāhārīās; and in the Central Provinces we see the Mūṇḍā-speaking Kōrkūs living side by side with the Dravidian Gōnds, so in the northern parts of the Madras Presidency we meet with the Dravidian-speaking Khonds side by side with the Mūṇḍā-speaking Gadavas and Sāvarās. This interesting juxtaposition of the two groups offer the field-anthropologist welcome opportunities and special facilities for a first-hand study *in situ* of the differences due to heredity and racial history, on the one hand, and the resemblances due to culture-contact and also perhaps to racial mixture in the past.

The similarities of the social organisation and customs and religious system and observances of the Khonds of Orissā and the Madras Agency tracts and the Orāons of Chōṭā-Nāgpur are as striking and significant as their differences are interesting and instructive. As each Orāon village has its secular headman styled the *Māhtō* and its sacerdotal headman called the *Pāhān* or *Nāigās*, so each Khond village has its secular headman called the *Sāmōntō* (Oṛiyā, *Nāikō*) and its sacerdotal headman or priest called *Jāni*. But among the Khonds who

are in some respects more primitive than the Orāons, the two offices are sometimes combined in one and the same person, as I found, for instance, in village Konḍū-gūḍa about three miles from Jeypore. Again, whereas among the Khonds the posts of secular headman and of village priest are hereditary, among the Orāons these have in many places come to be elective.

Just as a group of from seven to twenty-one Orāon villages constitute a *Pārḥā* federation under a secular headman called the *Pārḥā Rājā* and a semi-sacerdotal headman called the *Kartāḥā*, so the Khonds have a similar organization in which a group of confederated villages is called by the number of villages of which it is composed such as *das-khāṇḍa* (*lit.*, ten parts), *bār-ā-khāṇḍa* (*lit.*, twelve parts), and so forth. The secular and sacerdotal headmen of such a group is also known respectively as the *Sāmōnlō* or the *Jāni* of the group. Corresponding respectively to the *Sōkhās* or diviners and the *Mātis* or sorcerers and spirit-doctors of the Orāons, the Khonds have their *Disāris* or diviners and primitive astrologers and their *Bejjus* or sorcerers and spirit-doctors. The Khonds like the Orāons have separate dormitories, one for the unmarried boys and other for the unmarried girls of a village. But the organisation of the Khond dormitory is not so elaborate as that of the Orāons. As among the Orāons so also among the Khonds, the girls' dormitory is now very rarely found to have a separate building of its own, but the unmarried girls of a village usually sleep at night in the house of some lone widow.

The resemblances in their religious systems are equally close. Like the Orāons, the Khonds recognise at the head of their pantheon a faint Supreme Deity known by a variant of the same name. The Orāons call him *Dharmē*, or *Dharmes*, the Khonds call Him *Dharma*. Similarly the principal village Deity of the two tribes is identical, being known as *Jhākrā Bārhiā* or *Chālā Pāchchō* among the Orāons, and *Jhankar* or *Jhākar Pennu* among the Khonds. As among the Orāons so among the Khonds, a sacred grove is dedicated to this Deity. As among the Orāons, so also among the Khonds, before a new

village is established, the site of this sacred grove, called *jhākrā* or *Sarnā* by the Orāons and *Jhākar* or *jhānkar* by the Khonds, has to be selected and the Deity installed and worshipped in this sacred grove. The Khond Jāni or priest, on an auspicious day in the month of *Chaitra* (March-April), carries a stone to the selected grove or clump of trees, buries it under ground, and then offers a fowl, a pig and in some places also a hen's egg, and calls upon the Supreme Deity or *Dharma* to bless the new settlement about to be founded. As among the Orāons so too among the Khonds, no woman may attend the *pūjā* at this grove nor touch the stone nor even enter the grove.

Before thus consecrating the sacred *jhākar* grove, the site for the village is selected by the following method. Seventeen grains of rice are taken and divided into three portions (*pūnjis* lit., collections),¹ two of seven grains each and one of three grains. The first two portions are placed side by side and the third is placed in front of them. They are then covered over with a leaf, and a stone is placed upon the leaf; after a time, the leaf is removed and the rice-grains are counted. If no grain is found missing, the site is considered auspicious. If one or more grains out of the seventeen are found missing, the site is given up as inauspicious. The Porojas also select the site for a new village in the same way.

After selecting the village site and installing the *Jhākar Pennu* in the sacred grove dedicated to her, the dwelling-houses of the new Khond settlement are constructed in two rows facing each other. A wide open space is left between the two lines of houses. Towards the middle of this open space a few slabs of stone are laid flat on the ground. These are collectively known as *Valli* in Khondi or Kui language and *Bātpur* in Oriya. On these stones the elders of the village sit down to discuss matters of public interest to the village or tribe. In some villages one or more trees, generally of the *ficus Indica* or some other variety of fig, are planted by the side of these stones. Here Khond young men and women hold their dances. This corresponds to the *Ākhrā* of an Orāon village. Whereas the Orāons appear to

identify the *Jhākrā Bārhiā* with the Earth-goddess or *Dharti-māi* and ceremonially celebrate the marriage of this deity with the Sun-god every year at the Sarhūl festival, a Khond priest (Butiā Disāri of village Pūtrā Gūrā) informed me that *Jhānkar Pennū's* husband is *Dharni-deotā* or the Earth-god and sacrifices offered at the sacred grove are meant for both.

Besides the Supreme Spirit and village-spirits, the Khonds like the Orāons have their ancestor-spirits, familiar spirits of individuals, and tutelary deities of families.

Side by side with the Khonds, and in some villages interspersed among the Khonds, may be found the tribe known as the *Pōrōjās*, *Pōrjās* or *Pārjās*.

As the Khonds have their *Jhānkar* or *Jhākar Pennu*, so the Pōrōjās have their *Nisāni Mūṇḍā* or *Nisāni Deotā* who is the guardian spirit of each village. After houses have been built in a new settlement, the *Disāri* or village-astrologer brings a block of stone or a piece of wood and buries it in the ground near the entrance (*mūṇḍā* or head) of a Porojā village, and piles stones on the ground over it. The *jāni* or village-priest sacrifices a pig, a goat and a fowl to the *Nisāni Mūṇḍā* spirit. And since then every year sacrifices are offered to this spirit in the month of *Chait* before seeds are sown in the fields. A few seeds of all varieties are first offered to this spirit, and then alone can the fields be sown. In some villages the population consists of both Khonds and Pōrōjās; but generally the two tribes occupy two different quarters (*tolās*) of the village. It is interesting to note that generally in such a village (as, e.g., in *Putra gurā*) there are seats allotted for both *Nisāni Mūṇḍā* or *Nisān deotā* and *Jhānkar Pennu*, but the same man acts as *Jāni* or priest for both the Khonds and the Pōrōjās. They have also the same astrologer or *Disāri* and the same secular headman or *Nāikō*.

As among the Orāons, so too among the Khonds, each family has its own household deity called *Illu Pennu* by the Khonds and *Khēṇṭ Bhāt* by the Orāons.

In purely *Pōrōjā* villages in the Jeypore Agency I met with a custom which might appear to point to the affinity of the *Pōrōjās* or some sections of them with the *Mūṇḍā*-speaking tribes of *Chōṭā-Nāgpur*. It is curious that I do not find this custom noticed either by Thurston (article on 'Pōrōjā' in the *Tribes and Castes of Southern India*) or by Russel (article on 'Pārjā' in the *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces*). This is the custom of setting up stone memorials to the dead such as we find in vogue among the *Mūṇḍās*, the *Hōs* and the *Bhumijs* of *Chōṭā-Nāgpur*. It is interesting to note that their neighbours the Dravidian-speaking *Khonds* do not set up such memorial stones just as the Dravidian-speaking *Orāon* neighbours of the *Mūṇḍās* too do not practice such commemoration of their dead relatives.

The *Pōrōjās* erect these stone memorials, which they call *khāmbā*, in memory of important personages particularly old persons of a village. In the *Pōrōjā* village of *Kāṇḍari gurā*, I found as many as thirteen such stones standing in a line just by the eastern side of the settlement. In front of each upright stone slab is laid another slab of stone, flat on the ground, resting on small stones at its four corners. The procedure followed in setting up these memorial stones is as follows: After the funeral rites of the deceased have been performed (ten or twelve days after cremation) the memorial stone-slab is set up, wound round with a cloth or rather a rag secured by a string. As with the *Mūṇḍā bid-diris* or upright memorial stones, these stones must face the east, that is to say the direction of their breadth must be from north to south so that the broad sides may look towards the east and the west. Behind the upright slab, that is to say adjoining it on the west, a *nār warhālū* (*Oriyā, soiṭōnkā*) tree is planted. An old bullock or an old cow is tethered to the *khāmbā* or upright stone-slab and the person (generally the son of the deceased) who has planted the *khāmbā* cuts off the head of the animal with an axe. A little of the blood of the sacrificed animal is taken in a leaf-cup and dropped over the *khāmbā*.

A feast of boiled rice and of meat of the sacrificial animal follows. Before the feast, a little of the cooked meat is offered to the spirit of the deceased by placing it on the flat-stone in front of the *khāmbā* or upright stone. A little fermented liquor or rather jelly-like substance prepared with *rāgi* flower or *mārū* flower, is also offered to the spirit.

The *Pōrjās* as I learnt, have several sections among them, such as *Sorā Bisya Pōrjās* or *Bar Pōrjās* found mostly in the Jeypore area, the *Jariū Pōrjās* or *Sān Pōrjās* found mostly in the Korāpuṭ tract, the *Barang Jhariū* or *Pengō Pōrjās* found in the Kāthar-gārā country, the *Dhur Pōrjās* or *Dādai Pōrjās* found in the Bagdari country, the *Khankra Pōrjās* and the *Mandrā Pōrjās* found in the Lachimpur area, and the *Kōṭā Pōrjās* found in the Singpur area. Besides these are the *Baṇḍā Pōrjās* and *Perengi Pōrjās* found mostly in the Bagdari country, who are believed to have been originally a section of the Gadavas, and *Khondī Pōrjās* believed to have been originally derived from the Khonds and the *Tagara Pōrjās* whose origin is by some attributed to the Koyas.

This would appear to support the inference that the *Pōrjās* are not a homogeneous tribe, but were originally made up of recruits from more than one tribe.

More primitive than the Khonds and the *Pōrjās* are the *Mūṇḍā*-speaking tribe of the Gadavas. Elopement marriage and a simulation of marriage by capture are in vogue among this people. In a regular marriage, mango leaves are tied round the neck and hands of the couple and pounded turmeric is anointed on their limbs. They have adopted some of the deities of their neighbours the Khonds and the Savaras or rather assimilated their pantheon with their own. Their principal deities now are Dharam, Thakurani or Gangā Devi, and Bhūi-deotā or Nisāni Deotā. The Gadavas burn their dead, and like the *Mūṇḍās*, use stone slabs either to mark the mortal remains of their dead or to perpetuate their memory. Their children are buried and not burnt and stones mark their grave. Stone slabs are ordinarily laid down flat on the ground

supported at the corners by small stones, in memory of dead adults; but in some places upright memorial stones are also found, as for example, in village *Nighānan gūrā*.

It is interesting to note that, like the Porōjās, the Gadavas offer sacrifice to the *Nisāni Deotā* or *Bhūi Deotā* (earth-spirit) symbolised by some stones under a tree (generally, *Siāri* tree). But the *Jhānkar Deotā*, though found in some Gadava villages (e.g., in *Jāti gūrā*) is not found in others (e.g., in *Kūrā Gūdā*). The worship of *Thākūrāni* or *Gangā Devi* appears to have been borrowed by the Gadavas as well as the Khonds and the Pōrōjās from their Oriyā-speaking Hindu neighbours and landlords. But how fluid and vague their ideas regarding these deities are may be judged from the fact that I found some Gadavas identifying *Dharam Deotā* with *Gangā* whom they call *Gangā Deotā*. It is interesting to note that the worship of this Hindu Deity has been adopted even by aboriginal tribes in other Oriyā-speaking countries, e.g. by the Hill-Bhuiyās in the Bonai and Keonjhar States and even by the more primitive Juangs of the Keonjhar State.

The Gadavas are the most primitive and interesting tribe I met with in the Agency tracts of the Madras Presidency. Their women still wear home-spun cloth made up of strips of different colours manufactured by themselves from the fibre of a plant called *ban-kereng* (*Calotropis gigantea*) at least for the warp. Some of the women wear a rope-netting called *guara* or *irre*. As one goes along the roads through the jungles and hills of the country, one not infrequently meets with the delightful sight of bevvies of Gadava women attired in their gay coloured home-spun cloths with immense earrings made of brass wires wound round in several coils and hanging from holes in their ear-lobes and reaching down to the shoulders, going to or returning from some shandy or market or perhaps going on a visit or to work as labourers on the public roads or elsewhere. A Gadava girl is not considered eligible for marriage unless she can weave. Although, now-a-days,

cotton thread is permitted to be used for the woof, the cloth worn by a Gadava woman at her marriage should be preferably made of pure fibre, as mixed cloth is not considered so auspicious. In this tribe men may use cotton-cloth but women may not do so.

The Gadavas whom I met in the hills of Korāpūt are divided into three sections, namely *Bara-Gadava*, *Sān-Gadava* or *Parenga-Gadava* and *Olārō-Gadava*. Whereas the *Bara-Gadava* women are distinguished from other *Gadava* women by their huge ear-rings reaching down to the shoulders, women among the *Sān-Gadavas* wear smaller ear-rings and their waist-cloths have narrower coloured stripes. The *Olārō-Gadavas* are the lowest in social rank. In the Plains, I was told, there were other sections of the Gadavas known respectively as the *Kaṭh-ṭhīri* or *Kaṭh-ṭhara* Gadavas and *Kāpu-Gadavas*.

Among the *Bara-Gadavas*, I met with four exogamous totemistic clans, namely, the *Unjiria* or Baboon clan, the *Olle-biria* fish clan, the *Mūṇḍā-gūriā* fish clan, the *Tukumia* or Tiger clan. Of these the two fish clans (*Mūṇḍā-gūriā* and *Olle-biria*) are said to be the descendants of two brothers, and inter-marriage between them is consequently prohibited. With this exception the *Gadava* clans are exogamous.

The religious festivals of all these tribes are connected with the eating of the first fruits of each season. Thus the Khonds celebrate with feasts, the *Kāṇḍūl-nūā-khāi* or eating the first red gram in the month of *Māgh* (January), the *Amba-nūā-khāi* or ceremonial eating the first (unripe) mango-fruit of the season in *Chait* (March), and *Dhān-nūā-khāi* or ceremonial eating the first (upland) rice and *Bailārū-nūā-khāi* or ceremonial eating of the first pumpkin-gourd, both together in the month of *Bhādo* (August). The *Pōrōjās* have also similar *nūā-khāi* festivals. The *Gadavas* celebrate the *amba-nūā-khāi* and the *dhān-nūā-khāi*. The Khonds who are comparatively more advanced than their neighbours (the *Pōrōjās* and the *Gadavas*) observe somewhat more elaborate ceremonies at these festivals and dignify them with the name of *Jātrās* or religious processions, such as *Makūl*.

Jātrā and *Chaul Dhuba Jātrā*. The *Pūjās* or periodical sacrifices to their deities are also similarly known as *Jātrās*, such as *Jhānkar Jātrā*, *Thākūrāni Jātrā* and *Būrhā-Rāj-Jātrā*. It is interesting and instructive to compare the far more elaborate *Jātrā* festivals and processions of the still more advanced Chōṭā-Nāgpur tribe of the Orāons.

More primitive even than the Gadavas are the Juāngs of the Keonjhar State in Orissā with whom I made a short acquaintance which I intend to follow up with a more intensive study. One thing which even the casual observer cannot fail noticing is the general similarity amid variety in details in the customs, beliefs and ideas of all these primitive tribes in the hills and jungles of India.

REVIEWS AND NOTES OF BOOKS

I.—DEVELOPMENT OF HINDU POLITY AND POLITICAL THEORIES.—

By Narayan Chandra Bandyopadhyaya, M.A.—Part I.—From the earliest times to the growth of the Imperialistic Movement, 9½ × 7, pp. vii + 327, Calcutta, R. Cambay & Co., 1927.

It is a good *réchauffé* of the works of Messrs. K. P. Jayaswal and B. K. Sarkar. Gifted as an able compiler, the author only emphasises the historian's instinct of his proto-types.

In his assumed evolution "from the earliest times to the growth of the Imperialistic Movement", as well as his "best and most reasonable view that the germs of the non-monarchical form of Government lay in the institutions of the past and as time went on these not only survived but were strengthened in certain localities while in the central region, sacerdotalism strengthened the basis of the monistic political discipline" (p. 238), he records apparent facts belonging to widely different points of time and collates materials without reference to their respective positions in their individual lines of growth. He admits the theory of evolution and yet implies that it is possible for a particular stage in cultural evolution to continue indefinitely. He believes that from the Vedic days to the Guptas and possibly later, it is the self-same entity of political evolution, and suggests that particular units in this unending line stand indefinitely at a particular point. He then collects data from more or less dated literary sources and assigns a monarchy or a republic to a particular locality in a particular period but in the self-same line of progress. Thus the margin between the task of an exegetical interpreter analysing literary (e.g., grammatical, cf. pp. 244-46) texts almost disappears.

This view of reading political development extending over two thousand years—involving continuity and standstill,

forcing the initial, medial or final stages of approach of distinct lines of advance into one movement would be challenged. Petrie, for instance in his *Revelations of Civilisation* (1911) denies continuity and points out that civilisation (including political life) is essentially an intermittent phenomenon. "It should be examined like any other action of nature; its recurrences should be studied, and all the principles which underlie its variations should be defined." There is no standstill either. In spite of all irregular fluctuations of the political weather, every political idea must sprout, flourish, decay and die. Every such political institution inevitably holds within itself a toxic principle. The more rapidly it progresses, the sooner it dies for another to arise in its place. Spengler in his "*Der Untergang des Abendlandes*" (1918) outlines this adolescence, maturity and decay. An interesting parallel may be drawn between the Graeco-Roman world and Europe on the one hand and Hindu polity on the other. By the 2nd century B.C. the classical culture, and Europe in the 9th century A.C., had left the rude empires that saw their birth—of Agamemnon and of Charlemagne in which the power of the king was weakened: this attenuated kingship is represented by the Vedic king and the Vedic and Brāhmanic coronation ceremonies (cf. J.'s *Hindu Polity*, part II., pp. 3-59). His place is taken by an aristocracy—in England, that of the barons, in Athens, that of the great families who held the offices: in Vedic and Brāhmanic India, that of the Ratnins (cf. *Sat. Br.* 3.1, *Tait. Br.* 1.7.3, etc.) with whom the king plays a symbolical game of dice with a cow as the bet (*Sat. Br.* v. 4.2.8), they were the king-makers existing quasi-independently of the king. Oligarchy supersedes this aristocracy—a series of rulers arise who represent the interest of this third state—a rôle fulfilled in the Graeco-Roman world by the tyrants, in the west by men of the mould of Richelieu, Cromwell, and Wallenstein: in epic India the Paura and Jānapada led by men like Viśvāmitra and Vasiṣṭha, who lay down—"we desire" (*Rāmāyaṇa*, *Ayodhyāk.* Ch. II, pp. 20-22) *ichekhāmak.* A climax in the political development is

reached in the perfection of ordered form in the state—in the administration of the democracy in fifth century Athens, in the absolutism of Louis Quatorze in Europe: in the efficient Samgha and Gana administration in 6th. century India (cf. its adoption in religious matters, *Vinaya S.B.E.* XX, 408). This climax is the fulfilment. A gradual slackening sets in. Disorder as in fourth century Greece and in the period that culminated in the French Revolution, prepares the way for an Alexander, and a Napoleon: in India it produced a Chandragupta, an Aśoka, a Puṣyamitra. Greece renounced the true form of the city state: India established her empires. Both ages were periods of great activity in literature and scientific thought. Hero, Euclid and Ptolemy and the literature of Alexandria had their counterpart in Kautilya, Manu and a host of others. Follows a fresh cycle with an attenuated kingship of the Andhras and Andhrabhṛtyas, unfolding the same story to its end which with inner necessity is reached again and again.

In studying the development of Hindu Polity, one should not lose sight of three factors: (a) the *Weltgeschichte*, the background of the varying conditions and epochs of India as a whole; (b) the *zeitgeist*, where each epoch has its political institution as a discrete entity subject to the stages of youth, prime and decay and circumscribed by a fixed limit of time and space: (c) a new *Lebensfühlung* which starts a fresh political idea on its predestined phases as soon as the preceding political life is metaphysically exhausted. One should not confuse these different epochs each with its separate periods of youth, prime and senility and existing in different parts of India, as stages in the fictitious line of single progress. A misunderstanding of this three-fold gulf of time, territory and spirit, has led some (mostly Europeans) to dispute the existence of republics in India, because monarchy was still flourishing either in the same place at a different point of time or in the same time elsewhere in India, literary evidence mostly post-edited being their sole guide; it has led others (mostly Indians) to adopt an apologetic tone when describing Indian monarchy (compare our author's

"explaining away the right of gift by the King," etc. page 105). The aforesaid inevitability of fulfilment makes such apology superfluous. Then again, in the absence of Niceforo's co-variation, or simultaneous and sympathetic changes in various factors of political evolution, even an intellectual sympathy for either monarchy or republic becomes partly meaningless. A political institution is never an exclusive mass of benefits, it is a mass of values positive and negative : it may even be said that most often the conquest of a benefit in one domain of a polity brings into another domain of that polity inevitable evils. In describing political theories it is better to follow Montesquieu and leave the question of the value of those theories open.

This question of political values has coloured much of the uninformed and uninforming criticism against the pioneer work of Jayaswal. While a real jurist like Kohler welcomed these Hindu contributions to the development of political institutions in India in a spirit of appreciation in his *Archiv Für Rechts und Wirtschafts-philosophie*, mere Sanskritists like Barnett and Keith were looking up their lexicons. When Thomas in the *J. R. A. S.*, 1925, pp. 520—21 followed up the undoubted political significance of Paura and Jānapada discussed in *Hindu Polity*, Pt. II, pp. 60-78 and missed by the book under notice (*Development of Hindu Polity, etc.*, p. 63), Barnett (*J. R. A. S.*, 1926, pp. 774-76) took exception to the idea of a limited monarchy and questioned the interpretation of the coronation oath in the *M. Bh.*, *Śānti P.*, lix. 106-7. Barnett's objection is intelligible and excusable : it is due to a genuine difficulty for foreigners to correctly construe certain Sanskrit expressions, however simple and commonplace these might appear to the Hindu mind. Keith proceeds on a different line. In *The Journal of Comparative Legislation and International Law*, Third series—Vol. VII, Pt. IV, pp. 274-6, he objects to the interpretation of *Vairājya* (*Ait. Br.* i. 92), Vedic kingship as a human institution (*Śat. Br.* v. 4. 4. 7.), Paura and Jānapada as political institutions, the antiquity of the Jātakas, and finally the contemporaneity of the *Arthasāstra* and the Mauryas. And he substantiates these

statements by *ex cathedra* expressions and dogmatic assertions—'The *Arthasāstra* is not a contemporary treatise describing the constitution of the India of the Mauryas (Ibid., p. 276.)' Of discussion, not a trace. Some of these topics come within the purview of the *Development of Hindu Polity, etc.* (1927), cf. pp. 60, 265, 327. The reader would expect further elucidation. His expectations are yet to be fulfilled. The author affirms controversial issues dogmatically and without discussion, cf. Note, p. 327; that is hardly an improvement.

The author's manner of exposition is on the whole readable. But some cheap expressions of second-hand wisdom, e.g., "the dawn of true history in India with the advent of Alexander the Great", p. 12-9, "In regard to *political theories*—if we are permitted to use that word with reference to *Indian speculations*" p. vii,—disfigure an otherwise sane account, and should be eschewed in all serious studies. The various data and references are generally reliable and useful.

A. B-Ś.

II.—“*THE EMPIRE OF THE GREAT MOGAL*”; A TRANSLATION OF DE LAET’S “*DESCRIPTION OF INDIA AND FRAGMENT OF INDIAN HISTORY*,”—By J. S. Hoyland, *Critical Notes and Introduction* by S. N. Bannerjee ; price, Rs. 5-8-0 ; D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., *Kitab Mahal, Bombay*, 1928 ; pp. i-iv, 1-252.

This handy little book recently issued by Messrs. Taraporevala Sons and Co., supplies a long-felt want. The editors have been helped by capable scholars like Professors Jadu Nath Sarkar of Calcutta and S. H. Hodiwala of Junagadh and they have discharged their duties on the whole in a satisfactory manner. De Laet’s method of writing Indian and the specially Musalman names is very curious and the difficulty of rendering them into their original forms is by no means light. This can be illustrated by a few examples. *Chandbibbi* is written as *Tziand Biebie*, *Khan-i-Khanan* is written as *Chan Channa*, *Raja Basu* as *Radzia Patso*, *Mahārāṇa Karan Singh* as *Kharen*, etc.

In spite of the general excellence of the book a certain number of defects have crept in, which I think the editors could have remedied if they had consulted someone well versed in Indian topography. I shall cite a few examples only :—

1. “At a distance of one cos from this town flows the river Cepra, on whose bank is situated Calleada (Kaliyadaha), once the capital of the kings of Mando.”—page 9. It is difficult to recognise Cepra as the modern Sipra. The learned translator or his commentator should have noted that Kaliyadaha is the name of a pool in the river Sipra in which there is an island on which Mahmūd I Khalji of Mālwa built a pleasure resort. This palace lay in ruins and was repaired in recent times by the late Mahārāja Mādhav Rao Śinde of Gwalior. It was never a city or even a suburb of Ujain.

2. “Not far from this town (Ahmedabad) begin the mountains of Maroa (Mewar)”—p. 21. I do not see how the

mountains of Mewar can be said to begin from the outskirts of Ahmedabad. These mountains are several hundred miles distant from the city of Ahmedabad. In fact the mountains near Sac-hore in the Luni district of Southern Jodhpur are nearer than those of Dungarpur or Banswara. In my opinion *Maroa* should never have been corrected into Mewar.

3. "Note on Sarkhej—p. 22. "Note 35—Sarkhaej became famous on account of the burial at that place of Shaikh Ahmad Khatu Ganjbakhsh." The learned commentator should have known that the early Musalman architecture of Gujarat is a direct descendant of the Gujarat Chālukyan and Sarkhej buildings are no exceptions to this general rule. Besides the tomb of the saint and of the king and his queen there is a large Masjid in the Gujarat style built of pillars and lintels, a large tank on the right bank of which are the pleasure pavilions also in Gujarat style, which for a long time was the pleasure resort of the Mughal Viceroys of Gujarat.

4. If the editors had consulted some Gujarati scholar about proper names then they could have added many illuminating notes for the guidance of the unwary. Brodera is really the correct form. The Gujarati speaks of Baḍodarā instead of Baroda. The Baroda gate is called the Baḍodarī gate locally (p. 24). Very few people will be able to recognise Nadiad in "Niraud"—p. 26, a flourishing place and an important railway junction on the Bombay Baroda and Central India Railway.

5. The mistake about the identification of place names in Khandesh is more serious. "From Linul to Sindkerry is ten cos"—p. 29. Very few people will be able to recognise the modern town of Sindkheda, a *taluka* headquarters in the West Khandesh district of the Bombay Presidency in the Sindkerry.

6. The crowning mistake of the editors is their confusion of Chāttagrām or Chātgaon with Saptagrām or Sātgaon. The heading of the section is "The route from Agra to Chatigan, the port of Bengal"—p. 77. The text of the section proves that De Laet means Saptagram near modern Hooghly. "Tanda is one leuca distant from the bank of the Ganges, for the river

here often overflows its banks and floods the neighbouring fields, finally one reaches Chatigan a fine town 23° north of the equator and one leuca distant from Ugeli (or Porto Pequeno as it is called by the Portuguese). Not far distant from this port is another called Angeli in the province of Orixá, whose capital (also called Orixá) is six days' journey distant from Chatigan"—p. 78. So Chatigan is to be regarded as being about 5 miles distant from Ugeli where the learned editors failed to distinguish modern Hooghly and the port Porto Pequeno, the Portuguese name of Saptagrāma, also failed to help them. Chātgaon is always known in Portuguese as Porto Grande in contradistinction with Saptagrāma, called Porto Pequeno. Later on De Laet mentions that not far distant from Chatigan is another port called Angeli which Prof. Bannerji correctly identified with Hijli, yet he had not the courage of conviction to state that De Laet is describing Saptagrāma and not Chātgrāma. This is pardonable in a Hoyland but not in a Bannerji.

7. I shall cite only another instance of gross carelessness. In this case also the places are well known to people who have travelled in Western and Southern India. "The coast-district which extends from Angediva to Cifardam (a distance of 60 leagues) was given to Adelhan (called by Europeans Idalcam). The district from Cifardam to Negatona (a distance of 20 leagues) was given to Nizamalue." There is no note on Cifardam or Negatona. Cifardam is certainly Śrīvardhan near the Bankot creek, famous in Marāṭha history as the original habitation of Balāji Viśvanātha Bhaṭṭa, the first Peshwa of the Bhaṭṭa family¹. Negatona is evidently Nāgoṭhnā, a place on the Revḍaṇḍā or the creek of Chaul near Bombay. If the learned editors had consulted Professor Jadu Nath Sarkar of Calcutta or Professor S. H. Hodiwala of Junagadh they would have identified these places immediately.

R. D. BANERJI.

G. S. Sardesai—*Marāṭhī Riyāsat; Madhya-Bibhāg, Part I, 2nd Edition p. 37.*

NOTES OF THE QUARTER.

**Proceedings of a meeting of the Council
of the Bihar and Orissa Research
Society, held at the Society's Office
on the 5th August 1928.**

PRESENT.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

„ J. S. Armour.

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Pandit Ramavatara Sarma.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

Mr. E. A. Horne.

1. In the absence of the Vice-President, Mr. D. N. Sen occupied the chair.

2. Confirmed the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council, held on the 13th April 1928.

3. Elected the following new members :—

Life Member—

Mr. Ajit Prasad, M.A., LL. B., Ajitasram, Lucknow.

Ordinary Members—

Mr. Nageswar Prasad, M.A., B.L., Vakil, Patna.

„ Paul Roland Carr, 3923 Packard Street, Long Island City, N. Y., U. S. A.

„ V. Srinivasa Rao Pantulu Garu, M.A., L.T., Principal, Hindu College, Masulipatam.

„ P. Acharya, B.Sc., State Archaeological Scholar, Mayurbhanj State.

„ M. Yusuf, B.A. (Oxon.), Barrister-at-Law, Patna.

„ Sham Bahadur, Barrister-at-Law, Patna.

4. Read a letter, dated the 23rd July 1928, from the Hon'ble Sir B. K. Mullick, tendering his resignation of the office of Vice-President.

Resolved that his resignation be accepted and that the Council place on record their high appreciation of the loyal and ungrudging service rendered to the Society by the retiring Vice-President during his two terms of office.

Resolved further that, with the concurrence of His Excellency the President, the Hon'ble Mr. Courtney Terrell, Chief Justice, be elected Vice-President of the Society.

5. Read a letter, dated the 9th July 1928, from Professor R. D. Banerji, with reference to the payment of his travelling expenses (*vide* item 4 of the proceedings of the Council, at a meeting held on the 11th March 1928).

Resolved that Professor R. D. Banerji's travelling expenses, as sanctioned by the Council, having already been paid, no further action is called for.

6. Read a letter, dated the 10th May 1928, from the Chief Librarian, Royal University Library, Upsala, proposing an exchange of publications.

Resolved that current issues of the Society's Journal be exchanged for current issues of "Le Monde Oriental"; and that the Chief Librarian be informed that a complete set of the Society's Journal (13 volumes) can be supplied, if desired, in exchange for a complete set of the Upsala Journal.

7. Read a letter, dated the 15th March 1928, from the Librarian, India Office Library, addressed to the Director of Public Instruction, a copy of which was forwarded by the latter with his letter no. 7342, dated the 15th May 1928.

Resolved that the Librarian be informed that if he desires that the India Office Library should be supplied with a copy of current issues of the Society's Journal, free of cost, he should address the Secretary on the subject, who will place the matter before the Council.

8. Read a letter, dated the 29th May 1928, from Dr. Hari-chand Sastri, addressed to Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, proposing that the Society should undertake a certain publication.

Resolved that the proposal cannot be accepted.

9. Read a post-card, dated the 14th July 1928, from Mr. N. K. Prasad, with reference to the death in 1926 of

Khan Bahadur Kazi Farzandi Ahmad, formerly a member of the Society.

Resolved that the dues, accruing for the supply of the Journal since the death of the deceased, be written off.

10. Considered the question of accepting advertisements for publication in the Society's Journal.

Resolved that the Council adhere to their former decision to accept no advertisements for publication.

11. Read a post-card, dated the 2nd May 1928, from Dr. R. S. Behari Lal, a member of the Society, with reference to the payment of his subscription.

Resolved that the concession for which he asks cannot be granted.

12. Considered the payment of an honorarium to Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri for his work in compiling the index to Buchanan's Purnea Report (*vide* item 5 of the proceedings of the Council, at a meeting held on the 8th March 1926).

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri having intimated his unwillingness to accept any honorarium, the matter was dropped.

13. Considered designs of furniture for the Society's Library and Council Room in the new Museum building, submitted by the Executive Engineer, Patna Division, with his letter No. 8439, dated the 7th July 1928.

Resolved that a copy of the estimate for bookcases for the Society's Library furnished by Messrs. Mansfield and Sons, Calcutta, and approved by the Council (*vide* item 9 of the proceedings of the Council, at a meeting held on the 11th March 1928), be forwarded to the Executive Engineer; and that he be informed that the Council have already considered and rejected the proposal to have sectional bookcases with doors on hinges. As regards the furniture of superior design required for the Library and Council Room, he should be asked to obtain suitable designs, either from Messrs. Mansfield or from some other firm specialising in such work and to submit them for the approval of the Council.

E. A. HORNE,

Honorary General Secretary.

Proceedings of a meeting of the Council of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, held at the Society's Office on the 30th September 1928:

PRESENT.

The Hon'ble Mr. Courtney Terrell, Vice-President (in the chair).

Rai Bahadur Ramgopal Singh Chaudhuri.

Pandit Ramavatara Sarma.

Mr. J. S. Armour.

Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri.

Mr. D. N. Sen.

„ E. A. Horne.

1. Confirmed the proceedings of the last meeting of the Council, held on the 5th August 1928.

2. Elected the following new members :—

Life Member—

Mr. Mahendra Prasad Sinha, Sub-Deputy Collector, Orissa Settlement, Cuttack.

Ordinary Members—

Mr. Gopi Kant Chaudhry, Ballipur Estate, Ballipur, Darbhanga.

Mr. Phanindranath Bose, M.A., Lecturer in History, Nalanda College, Bihar Sharif.

3. Considered the Revised Estimate of the Society's income and expenditure for 1928-29 and the Budget Estimate for 1929-30. Resolved that these be adopted as amended.

Resolved further (with the concurrence of the Vice-President) that the sum of Rs. 5,000 be replaced on fixed deposit for a year.

4. Read a letter, dated the 24th August 1928, from the Keeper of the Department of Oriental Printed Books and MSS., British Museum.

Resolved that the Superintendent, Government Printing, be requested to send to the British Museum, for copyright purposes, a copy of each issue of the Society's Journal, as published.

5. Considered the desirability of an exchange of publications with "The Vaitarani", an Utkal Research Journal, and "The Harmonist".

Resolved that such an exchange is not desirable.

6. Read a letter, dated the 7th August 1928, from Mr. L. K. Sahu, member of the Servants' of India Society, Cuttack.

Resolved that Mr. L. K. Sahu be informed that the Society distributes no free copies of the Journal.

7. Read a demi-official letter, dated the 25th August 1928, from Mr. R. E. Russell, Secretary to Government in the Revenue Department, with regard to the arrangement proposed for carrying out further excavation at Buxar.

Resolved that Mr. Russell be informed that, in the opinion of the Council, Dr. Banarji-Sastri should be entitled (i) to make suggestions as regards the site and plan of the excavation, (ii) to be shown and to examine the finds, and (iii) to submit his own observation for incorporation under his name in the report or reports.

It is understood that the work will be carried out by the Curator of the Patna Museum under the supervision and control of the Superintendent of Archaeology, Central Circle.

E. A. HORNE,

Honorary General Secretary.

Transliteration of the Devanagari Alphabet adopted in the Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society from 1925.

Devanāgarī.	Roman.	Devanāgarī.	Roman.
अ	a	त	t
आ	ā	थ	th
इ	i	द	d
ई	ī	ध	dh
उ	u	न	n
ऊ	ū	प	p
ऋ	r̥	फ	ph
ॠ	r̄	ब	b
ऌ	l̥	भ	bh
ॡ	l̄	म	m
ए	e	य	y
ऐ	ai	र	r
ओ	o	ल	l
औ	au	व	v
क	k	श	ś
ख	kh	ष	ṣ
ग	g	स	s
घ	gh	ह	h
ङ	ṅ	ळ	l
च	ch	* (Anusvāra)	m̐
छ	chh	* (Anunāsika)	m̐̃
ज	j	: (Visarga)	ḥ
झ	jh	×	(Jihvāmūliya) ḥ
ञ	ñ	) (Upadhmanīya) ḥ	
ट	ṭ	ॡ (Avagraha).	,
ठ	ṭh	Udātta	—
ड	ḍ	Svarita	—
ढ	ḍh	Anudātta	—
ण	ṇ		

Associate Editors :

Shri S. H. Askari, M.A., B.L.

Dr. B. P. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D.

Shri Yogendra Mishra, M.A.

Editorial Advisory Board :

Justice Shri Naqi Imam, Bar-at-law.

Dr. T. Chowdhury, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.).

Dr. B. N. Prasad, M.A., Ph.D.

Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt.

Dr. S. Mukherjee, M.A., Ph.D.

Dr. P. L. Vaidya, M.A., Ph.D.

Members of the Council (in addition to the President, Vice-Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian who are ex-officio members).

Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S.

Justice Shri S. C. Mishra, M.A., B.L.

Justice Shri Naqi Imam, Bar-at-law.

Shri S. H. Askari, M.A., B.L.

Dr. S. C. Chatterjee, M.Sc., D.Sc.

Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt.

Dr. B. N. Prasad, M.A., Ph.D.

Dr. B. P. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D.

Dr. B. B. Mishra, M.A., Ph.D.

Shri Sachchidanand, M.A.

Education Secretary, Director of Public Instruction, Superintendent of Archaeology, Central Circle, Directors of Nalanda Pali Institute, Mithila Research Institute and the Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute to be ex-officio members of the Governing Council of the Society for transaction of the business of the Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute.